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ART. I.—ON DUELING.

Reasons for Legislative Interference to prevent the Practice of Dueling: Addressed to the Members of both Houses of Parliament; by J. BUCKINGHAM, Esq., M. P.

A RECENT shocking occurrence in our capital, and among the members of our national legislature, has turned the attention of the community to the painful subject which is considered in the paper, whose title we have given above. It may be as fitting an occasion at present, to offer some remarks upon it in this journal, as may be afforded, and we hope, ever will be afforded, in the course of our labors. Our religious periodical literature is charged with the duty of bearing its testimony against every sin committed in the land; and although in regard to the sin in question, many have lifted up their voice from the pulpit, and some have come before the public in print, we feel, that our own duty is imperative. No one can discharge for us responsibilities which belong to ourselves. All must clear their garments from guilt, especially from the guilt of blood. It is not our intention to contemplate this subject, nor should it ever be contemplated, in any connection with party or sectional politics. All we wish is, in co-operation with the virtuous, thinking portion of our citizens, who feel a common interest in the subject, to interpose, if possible, some effectual obstacle to the detestable, barbarous practice. It seems to us so abhorrent to

the amenities of civilized life, to a refined humanity, to the peace-seeking spirit of the age, and to the promises of the halcyon future, that we cannot endure the thought of its continued existence, even in any isolated cases.

The consideration of some mode to prevent the practice in this country, led to the republication of Mr. Buckingham's able and eloquent paper. It was solicited, it seems, by a friend, who, in view of the catastrophe at Washington, was persuaded, that the British philanthropist's suggestions might be appropriate at this time, and "assist in correcting public sentiment on a most important subject." It was originally presented, as the title imports, to the members of both houses of the British parliament; and, although particularly adapted to that meridian, it has a general application to us, and to every country where dueling is known. We shall hereafter refer occasionally to Mr. Buckingham's views, in illustration of our own, as well as, in one or two instances, for the purpose of dissent. The piece first appeared among us in a half-sheet print extra of the *New York American*, and doubtless has thence been conveyed, according to the author's hope, to "the remotest verge of our extensive country."

It is by no means easy in itself, nor is it required of us, to form a scale of crimes, in respect to their enormity or their evil consequences. Especially, we can not measure, nor are we called upon to measure, their comparative hatefulness and guilt in the divine view. They are all utterly detested, on the part of Him against whom they are committed; and although some may be more heinous in his sight than others, yet who can or may designate them in that view, and make out a regular graduated list? It is on this account, that the propriety of certain resolutions adopted by a church in a neighboring State, in special condemnation of this sin, has been called in question in an estimable religious publication.* In the periodical referred to, they say, "Why should dueling have such a pre-eminence, or be thus made the scape-goat? What evidence have we, that slander, lying, envy, malice, intrigue, lewdness, profanation of the sabbath, blasphemy, infidelity, drunkenness, and scores of other sins, are not as abominable in the sight of God, and as injurious to our country, and to the souls of men, as the sin of dueling?" In regard to this sentiment, we would remark, that should it be literally true, and possibly it is, it seems to us rather ill-timed, and calculated to abate the feelings of horror,

* The Religious Magazine and Family Miscellany.

which should affect the minds of our citizens, in view of such a crime. Besides, we see not why a vice may not be selected for public reprobation, when circumstances occur, as in the present case, to call up the attention of the people to the subject. This has been done, severally, in respect to the sins of intemperance, sabbath-breaking, licentiousness, and perhaps others. There is *one* point of view, moreover, in which we should consider the sin of dueling as peculiarly fearful and to be avoided. To say nothing here of the sanctity of human life, and the care with which it has always been guarded under all regular governments, as a natural good, it is, as we know from the bible, the season, and the only season, of man's probation. When it terminates, he has no more opportunities of securing the salvation of his soul, provided he has not already secured it. He who falls in private combat, therefore, puts a period to his probation, and to every opportunity of obtaining the good which is the great object of human life. If previous opportunities for this purpose have been neglected, as we may well suppose in this case, then all are departed. And to add, if possible, to the evil of ending one's probationary being under these circumstances, he who falls in private combat, dies committing an act of disobedience to God. He dies in his sins, impenitent, and consequently unforgiven. Now, in regard to other sins committed, on the supposition, that they are equal to this in degree, yet we are not without hope, that while life continues, they may be repented of and forsaken. A circumstance exists, then, in regard to this sin, which does not exist as to others. And it is of a very serious nature. We may, therefore, be justified in contemplating it with peculiar dread, and as especially to be shunned. As a species of self-murder,—and the same remark is applicable to any act of voluntary, conscious suicide,—it presents the guilty subject of it in a hopeless point of view, as to his soul's salvation.

If the bible does not literally tell us what crimes are most enormous in the list of crimes, still its injunctions in regard to the preservation of our own lives and the lives of others, are emphatic, and cannot be disregarded but at awful hazard. Its denunciations of wrath, its appointed penalties for the destruction of life, are solemn and terrific. "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." "Thou shalt not kill." "He that killeth any man, shall surely be put to death." Blood shed for an unjustifiable cause, we are given to understand, defiles a whole land, and needs expiation. "So shall ye not pollute the land wherein ye are, for blood it polluteth the land; and the

land cannot be cleansed of the blood that is shed therein, but by the blood of him that shed it." "For all they that take the sword shall perish by the sword." "And ye know that no murderer hath eternal life abiding in him." A commentator on the passage first introduced, makes a remark of this kind. "It is a subject for serious inquiry to all who are cordially affected to the welfare of these nations, how far it can be justified before God, and how far national guilt is contracted, when so many are suffered to elude justice, who commit willful, deliberate murder in duels; whilst numbers of thieves are put to death, which God never commanded, perhaps does not approve." This is spoken of the comparative treatment of these crimes in Great Britain, and applies to our own country only in relation to the former crime. If the killing of a man in the private combat of honor is, in all cases, willful, deliberate murder, then, truly, national guilt must be contracted, in reference to the common and notorious escape of duelists, from the inflictions of a just punishment.

It has, indeed, been made a question whether the killing of an antagonist in a duel can be justly punished with death. The negative side of this question can, of course, be maintained only by showing, that the act committed is not murder, or does not possess the turpitude of murder. But if this crime, as it has been defined in our ethical works, is "the deliberate taking away of human life, otherwise than by public authority," then homicide in dueling is certainly murder. This being the case, as believers in divine revelation, we ought not to object to the punishment of death, as the award of him who has killed another in a private quarrel. And this should be the sense of a christian community. It is well known, however, that duelists, in most cases, escape with impunity. The laws in the several States of the Union, denouncing death, in many instances, are seldom enforced. This may be partly owing to the nature of the case,—the circumstances under which duels are usually fought. The preliminaries to the combat, including the challenge, the acceptance, designation of time and place of meeting, and the like, are carefully concealed, where this is felt to be necessary. The design with which the parties appear on the field, is indicated only by the fact of their being found there. The case brought before a court of justice for trial, turns upon the design of the meeting; but of this there is no other evidence than the actual combat. Death occurring under such circumstances, that is to say, where a man appears in the act of contending with an adversary, is deemed merely manslaughter, according to the law.

But the escape of the duelist is oftener owing to the laxness of public sentiment. The most common punishment, which is death, is thought by many to be too severe, and is therefore but seldom, if ever, inflicted. It is for this reason, that Mr. Buckingham proposes to do away the punishment of death altogether. As it is not in accordance with public sentiment; it is a dead letter in the English statute-books. And the same may be said of it in regard to this country. The laws are indifferently put into execution. Mr. B. is himself of an opinion, that the punishment of death is too severe. He says:

‘I contend, then, that death is altogether an excessive as well as unsuitable punishment for dueling; since to put the man who voluntarily risks his life against that of another, and combats fairly and openly, on the same footing with the secret murderer and midnight assassin, is to confound all notions of right and justice, and defeat the very end of law, by revolting every man against its injunctions. Besides which, the fear of death will never deter men from fighting duels, since it is to show their contempt of personal danger, that they always go out to the combat. What they most dread, is degradation in the estimation of those classes of society with whom they habitually associate. It is to avoid being scorned and shunned by their equals, rather than to take vengeance, or even to prove their courage, that they go to the field.’

There seems to be an inconsistency here, in the statement of the object of the duelist, but that perhaps is more his fault, than one of the writer. The object probably is various, and not always very well defined. There is a show of courage—of contempt of personal danger in the deadly private rencounter; but the basis of the affair, if it have any basis, is a cowardly apprehension of the scorn of comrades. We have always thought, that the duel is not a very brave mode of settling a private quarrel; but we may advert to this thought again. To meet the case before us, which Mr. B. thinks is inadequately provided for in the ordinary extreme, punishment of death, and with a view to prevention, he proposes the following things:

‘First, to provide competent tribunals for the adjustment of those differences, then and now referred to decision by deadly weapons, so as to afford redress to the injured, and preserve the honor of the aggrieved. Secondly, to provide a substitute for the extreme penalty of death, in a series of secondary punishments, so in harmony with public opinion, as to insure their being inflicted, and so capable of graduation, as to meet every variety of case. For the want of such tribunals, men take the law into their own hands. And for the want of secondary punishments, the offenders escape with impunity, as the severe penalty of death is never inflicted, because of its severity, and no other remains to be applied in its stead.’

In the course of his address, Mr. B. states *seriatim*, the provisions which he would suggest, as the substance at least of legislative enactments, respecting the tribunals referred to, and the punishments to be awarded in the event of fighting a duel. We need not introduce them to the notice of our readers, as they are somewhat minute, and extended. It may be observed merely in regard to the courts of honor, which he would have established, that they seem calculated to be useful, as a means of the prevention of duels, so far as we may suppose their authority would be respected, and that in reference to the punishments to be inflicted in cases of offense, he relies chiefly on dismissal from office, exclusion from all civil and political privileges, and the being placed without the protection of law, for a period; as also in the event of wounds or death being inflicted, pecuniary reparation to the injured, or to their families and dependants.

It may be replied, however, to his whole plan, so far as it is connected with coercion or punishment, that if death by a duel is murder, we have no option, as to what punishment should be inflicted. The bible has already determined this point. If it cannot be inflicted on account of the belief, on the part of the community, that it is unreasonably severe, then that belief should be changed. Efforts should be put forth to produce this change. That death is the proper punishment in this case, or that the certain prospect of it, is, more than any thing else a preventive, appears from Mr. Buckingham's own showing in another part of the piece, where he was speaking of the energetic conduct of Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, on a certain occasion. The story he gives as follows:—

‘ During one of his campaigns in Russia, the practice of dueling had reached such a height in his own army, that he denounced death against any who should engage in it. Two officers in high command, nevertheless, subsequently quarreled, and knowing the king to be inflexible, they did not dare to fight without his permission. It was granted; but on condition that the king himself should be an eye witness of the combat. The time and place being appointed, the combatants appeared; when they found the king accompanied by a small body of infantry, which he drew in a circle round them, and calling the provost-marshal to attend as executioner, he said, “ Let the combatants continue until one is slain, and the instant that occurs, do you behead the other before my eyes.” The generals, (for the officers were of that high rank,) pausing at the inflexible determination of the sovereign, mutually embraced and forgave each other in the presence of their monarch—solicited and received his pardon, and promised to be, as they continued till death, firm and faithful friends.’

The certainty of punishment, and such a punishment as death, would be the most effectual preventive of the pernicious practice. All hope of escape, should, if possible, be taken away, and death should be the duelist's only prospect. We are surprised that Mr. Buckingham did not perceive from his own story, that the dread of death, contrary to a declaration he has made, can operate to the prevention of duels.

But although we believe in the correctness of the views we have now taken, as to the proper punishment of this crime, it is enough for our purpose, that duelling is a great sin and evil, and exposes those who are guilty of it, and the land which tolerates it, to the wrath of God. Whether it be murder or not, (although we have no doubt that it is,) it surely is enough, that it ought to be discarded, and put down forever, by public sentiment. It is sufficient to justify us in our strictures, distant as we are from the usual scenes of these combats, that there is not a sufficient abhorrence of the practice, in the minds of the community, and that even in this portion of the union, it is less frowned upon than it should be, though scarcely ever indeed witnessed here.

In order that a correct public sentiment may prevail respecting dueling, it should be viewed first of all, as a SIN AGAINST GOD. Such it is, in a fearful and emphatic sense.

1. God has expressly forbidden it. "Thou shalt not kill," is the great generic command which is violated by the duelist. He kills—he kills in the sense of the divine interdiction. He kills deliberately, intentionally, with a desire to kill, or a willingness to be killed. He wantonly exposes, or violently takes away human life, not only without public authority, but against it. In this sense, it is a killing which the divine law doubly condemns. It ought not to be doubted, that such an act is murder—murder committed by him who kills, and self-murder in him who is killed. It is no less than a mutual *felo de se*, for each consents to be slain by the other: and what a man does by the hand of another, he is deemed to do himself. *Qui facit per alium, facit per se*. Mr. Buckingham urges his principal moral argument against dueling, on the ground that it is self-murder:

'But I content myself with merely saying, that as suicide or self-destruction, is, by the common consent of christians of every denomination, held to be a crime of the deepest dye, the practice of dueling, which places both the combatants in the position of men voluntarily risking their lives in private quarrels, and permitting a reciprocal suicide to be perpetrated for the satisfaction of private vengeance alone, must

be deemed contrary to the very essence and spirit of christianity, which teaches forgiveness of injuries, and the return of good for evil, as the sacred duty of every man professing the christian faith.'

We may incidentally remark, also, it is scarcely less clear from the light of nature, that dueling is a sin against God. If, according to Montesquieu, "there is a primitive reason, and laws are the relations subsisting between it and different beings, and the relations of these to one another"—and if moreover, the laws by which God created all things, are those by which he preserves them, "it cannot then be doubted that the violation of relations thus established, in the voluntary destruction of human life, is contrary to his will. His laws are in effect so far abrogated by the act of man, for the latter destroys a part of that creation which God by his fixed and unalterable laws, intended to preserve. Hence nature, as well as the decalogue, has its stern interdiction—'thou shalt not kill.'"

2. God has expressly forbidden those principles and passions which the duelist cherishes, and by which he is controlled. The ingredients which make up the crime committed, as it lies subjectively in the mind, are all, and severally interdicted.

As, for instance, the crime consists in part, of a preference of the regard of men above the favor and approbation of God, where the one competes with the other; and this all know is wholly opposed to the law of the Bible. It contradicts and excludes the entire spirit of christianity. It is a preference of the consideration of men to the favor and approbation of God, according to Mr. Wilberforce's idea, as quoted by Mr. Buckingham, "*in articulo mortis*, in an instant, in which our own life, and that of a fellow creature are at stake; and wherein we run the risk of rushing into the presence of our maker, in the very act of offending him." With duelists it is a supreme concern what men may think of them, and how their reputation and honor are affected in this world, and particularly in view of their associates. In pursuit of this fancied good, they treat the divine consideration with neglect or contempt. The essential guilt of the private mortal combat, consists very much in this disproportionate regard of men, in comparison with God.

Again, in the custom of dueling there is a settled determination to practice it, however wrong it may be, whenever circumstances shall call upon the parties so to do. In this view, it is evidently a flagrant sin against God. This determination obviously exists in the case of the challenger, with whom it is always optional, whether he will summon his fellow into the field; and it may exist in the case of the challenged, as the

latter may possibly offer an affront, in order to secure, through a summons, an opportunity of contending with one whom he hates. At any rate, both the challenger and the challenged, acting on the principle, the one, that he will give a challenge upon an affront, and the other, that he will accept of one whenever offered, so that their honor or their courage shall never be called in question, plainly show a settled determination to break the law of God whenever they please. This law is nothing in their view, if it stands in the way of their humor or selfishness. "This is a consideration, which places the crime of dueling on a different footing from almost any other. Indeed, there is perhaps no other which mankind habitually and deliberately resolve to practice whenever the temptation shall occur. In this sense, the crime is far more general among the higher classes than is commonly supposed, and the whole sum of the guilt which this practice produces is great, beyond what has perhaps been ever conceived." This determination spoken of, enters into the nature of the modern duel; and it cannot be doubted, that the law of God interdicts all unlawful resolutions or purposes, as well as deeds.

Again, pride enters essentially into the crime of dueling, and this passion we know is peculiarly hateful to God, as it is also a matter of divine interdiction. No man ever gave or received a challenge, except as he was moved by this hateful feeling, among others. It is an unreasonable conceit of one's own superiority, and an affected contempt of others, which leads to the fearful practice in question. The operation of pride must be excessive indeed, to induce men to expose their own lives or to seek the lives of others, for the slightest imputations against their character. It is a remark of an author, that "duelists are men pre-eminently proud, haughty, insolent, and proverbially irritable; jealous to an extreme of what they call their rights, disdaining to have them determined as those of other men are, by tribunals of justice." There is no doubt much truth in this observation; and the mode which they take to secure attention to themselves or to punish neglect, is the highest proof and effect of pride. We ask, moreover, do humble men, do meek christian men, ever engage in duels,—can they feel any motive urging them to such a step? No, it is accursed, insufferable pride, which has a large share in prompting one to this iniquity. Pride induces men to resent an affront,—humility induces them to forgive it.

Again, hatred and revenge are commonly, if not always felt in the perpetration of this crime. This allegation has some-

times been objected to, as not literally correct. It has been supposed by some, that the deed may be committed, and often is committed, without malice or even the wish to destroy life. Mr. Wilberforce, in saying, that dueling "has sometimes been opposed on grounds hardly tenable, particularly when it has been considered as an indication of malice and revenge," has given the sanction of his opinion to this view of the subject. President Dwight, on the other hand, has ingeniously argued the existence of a spirit of revenge, as probably always a concomitant of the modern duel. We believe the latter to be correct. Rarely, if ever, can it be conceived, that intelligent beings can consent to be instrumental in depriving one another of so great a good as life, or subject themselves to the risk of losing it, except as they hate one another, and are actuated by a spirit of revenge. And we are forced to believe, that it is not an ordinary degree of these feelings which impels men to the deadly strife. The first thought suggested by an affair of honor in the mind of reflecting persons, is, that ungovernable resentments have driven the parties to a deed of the utmost rashness. The extremes of anger and malice must usually inflame their bosoms, if from the most trifling causes they can consent to imbrue their hands in each other's blood, revenge supplying the place almost of every other motive. It is evidently in the high passions of the mind, that the spirit of dueling finds its aliment. Duels are founded on injuries received or supposed to be received, and injuries, though slight in degree, in the bosoms of men not professing to be governed by christian principles, commonly imply the feelings of resentment and hatred. In the nature of things, where injuries are received or supposed to be received, there will be either a spirit of forgiveness, or of revenge and hatred, or possibly an entire indifference. In regard to the first and last of these results, they have no concern with the settlement of difficulties by private mortal combat. Forgiveness is the christian's method,—indifference is the stoic's trait of character. It is your fierce men of honor who must expiate the least injuries by blood,—men, who have not only no conscientious scruples on the subject, but whose positive convictions are, that revenge is right, is lawful, and who avow, that private feeling calls for it as well as the codes of honor. But revenge and hatred, and every approximation towards them, God has peremptorily forbidden.

Furthermore, in dueling is involved an assumption of a peculiar divine prerogative, and that in a two-fold point of view. Independently of every thing except a self-constituted authori-

ty, it affects to call a fellow-being to account in matters pertaining to the extremity of his fate, and to inflict a supposed merited vengeance. Now in both of these respects, God is the last resort,—his will is the ultimate appeal. He alone has the right of decision in concerns so important as these. As the arbiter of all things, he only can properly recall the gift which he gave. Life and death are at his sole disposal. "I kill," he says, "and I make alive; I wound and I heal: neither is there any that can deliver out of my hand." As the moral governor of the world, it is his province in contradistinction from that of every other being, to mete out the awards which his creatures deserve. God has said, "to me belongeth vengeance and recompense," also, "vengeance is mine, I will repay it," and we are solemnly forbidden to avenge ourselves,—“dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath.” Now the duelist, by taking upon himself a prerogative, that attaches solely to the divine nature, commits a high-handed offense against God. His malice is aimed at the throne of the Eternal. There are other evil passions and principles involved in dueling, which constitute it a sin against God of an aggravated kind, but the consideration of these must be omitted. As he has forbidden these passions and principles, dueling, which embraces them all, is a singularly fearful sin against him.

If we have established this truth, we are prepared to show also, that it is a SIN AGAINST SOCIETY. In illustrating the latter point, we bring of course additional evidence of the hatefulness of dueling in the divine view. But it is convenient, and even important, to make the distinction. In other words, dueling is an enormous evil in civil and social life. It is such an evil in proportion to its prevalence. And in the nations of modern Europe, and in portions of this country, it has prevailed to a considerable extent. We are not well furnished with the statistics of this crime; nor if we were, could we afford the requisite space. Mr. Buckingham has quoted from an accurate author, the number and issue of the duels fought in Great Britain during the reign of George III. alone :

‘In 172 combats, including 344 individuals, 69 persons were killed; in three of these, neither of the combatants survived, 96 were wounded, 48 of them desperately and 48 slightly; 188 escaped unhurt. From this statement it will be seen, that rather more than one fifth of the combatants lost their lives, and that nearly one half received the bullets of their antagonists.’

This statement presents an annual average of nearly three combats, of between five and six individuals engaged, and of a small fraction over one person killed, during a reign of sixty years. As this is for one country only, the aggregate for all the nations where the practice prevails, must be considerable. If we may judge from the accounts so frequently published of duels fought in our own country, it would seem, that the number of combats and deaths must be many times greater by the year, than that which occurred in Great Britain during the period above stated. To some persons, the evil may appear insignificant in magnitude from the comparative rareness of these affairs of honor, and for this reason they may be supposed to deprecate legislative interference. But we may say with Mr. B. on this topic,—“Were only one life lost in the year, it would be no sufficient reason why an effort should not be made to save even that solitary being.” But probably among most *christian* nations, several lives are yearly sacrificed in each, by the practice in question. And as every death affects a circle of relatives and acquaintances more or less extensive, and also the community in a degree, the aggregate of the evil in this point of view, is by no means inconsiderable. But we will make a few specifications on this part of our general subject.

Dueling is a sin against society, since it deprives a country of its citizens,—sometimes eminent citizens,—useful in civil life, and distinguished for talents, station, and influence. We cannot call them men of an “excellent spirit,” or real christians, inasmuch as the cause in which they fall, viz. that of private revenge, is contrary to the first principles of goodness and the gospel: but in many cases they are persons whom we would retain in the community, especially may it be so in regard to the challenged person. Dueling, as it implies certain laws and regulations of honor, prevails of course among the more influential orders of society, men of station occupying the higher civil, military, and naval departments. And it is no slight calamity, in some instances, to lose persons of this description. Many of our readers doubtless remember the sensation which was produced by the murder of Hamilton in a duel with Burr. The whole nation was moved as if it had been by a stroke of fate. Such instances are liable to occur, whenever dueling is at all tolerated in a community; and the extinction of valuable life must be the consequence.

Dueling produces a corrupt public sentiment. As it is a dereliction of moral principle, its prevalence vitiates irreparably the minds of the people. Like every other vice, it is pestifer-

ous to the principles and feelings of the community which tolerates it. These become perverted, debased, contrary to the purity of religion, and prepare men for the indulgence of unbridled passions, and the perpetration of unmeasured wickedness. Any wrong practice of this kind, tolerated among the people, produces permanent states of wrong feeling. The public mind itself becomes poisoned and perverted by the influence of an unrebuked and patiently endured vice. This remark is fully substantiated by the condition of the public mind, during the unresisted sway of intemperance in our land. The moral feelings of the great mass of the community, were well nigh prostrated by the influence of this vice. Dueling, with a far more limited range, whether in practice or in intention, is yet sufficiently corrupting. It deadens all the moral sensibilities. In proportion to its prevalence, it perhaps more completely subverts the foundations of kind and virtuous emotion among a people, than most other vices: and let it be remembered, that no greater evil exists than a corrupt public sentiment. Then every good is put to hazard, and every evil is liable to be suffered in the community.

Dueling sets the law at defiance. It casts contempt on the state. It takes the redress of wrongs into one's own hands, and sets aside the institutions of society as altogether needless or useless. Duelists place their own selfish feelings and fancies above the solemn obligations of law. "By resorting to arms, and determining a private quarrel by single and deadly combat, men go back to the lawless state of savage nature, and abjure, as it were, all respect for civilized institutions." This is a tremendous evil. It is a high-handed sin against society. Indeed, it is virtually the destruction of society. So far as any kind or degree of violence is applied, in the way of private vengeance and punishment, it is a sin against society, and tends to undermine its foundations. Law is the great cement of social order, and must be respected if we would enjoy the privileges and benefits of civilized life. Men in high stations, and especially our lawgivers, ought to know this; and yet, by the practice of dueling, they set the example of violating the very institutions by which they become elevated in the community,—they set the example of bringing into contempt their own enactments. If they who make the laws, purposely and wantonly break them, how can they expect from others a better and different course, and especially how can they punish the latter for any infraction of the public ordinances?

Dueling produces a blood-thirsty spirit and a savage temper. It tends to bring back the era of barbarism,—at least it is a relic of such an infelicitous period of nations. The practice originated in the ages of darkness, and descended to us from our untutored barbarian ancestors. It most prevailed among the Goths and Vandals, and the Teutonic tribes, whose manners were marked by the utmost harshness and ferocity. Every scholar is acquainted with the fact, that the most refined nations of antiquity, as the Egyptians, Persians, and Greeks knew nothing of any usage like that of the modern duel. It breeds a deadly, savage, and unforgiving spirit. Should it extensively prevail,—should the notion of settling private quarrels by an appeal to arms become fashionable among us, who is safe? The slightest offense, however unintentional, might subject one to the deadly ordeal. Perhaps no one would be safe in reproving his neighbor for sin. Affront might be received even from performing the most sacred duties of religion towards our fellow-men; and though the practice can never obtain among christians, it might drive christians at length from the land. The progress of christianity would at least be effectually arrested. The practice, (we borrow in part the language of Mr. B., shaping it more nearly to our purpose,) is inconsistent with entire freedom of opinion, and the undismayed enjoyment of expressing it as powerfully as we feel its truth. There should be no state of the community where good men may be deterred by the fear of giving offense, from the freest and fullest performance of their public duty. There should be no state of the community, which should permit any individual whose vices or whose follies, whose misdeeds or whose errors are properly and usefully exposed, to take upon himself the task of replying to a just accusation, by presenting a pistol at the breast, or redeeming his iniquities, in the blood of his worthy reprover.

Dueling is an employment of the greatest conceivable cruelty, in its effects on the relatives and friends of the man who falls in a private dispute. They are bereaved of an endeared member of their little community. The sweet family circle is broken, and diminished. The sacred charities are violated. Desolation and anguish are sent into many a fond heart. Those are separated with an unnatural violence, who were ordained of God to live together. The defenseless wife loses her constituted protector. The dependent children are doomed to a bitter orphanage. Both are called to bear the wretchedness of affliction, under the most terrible aggravations. They are strip-

ped of every well-founded hope, in respect to the spiritual state of their deceased friend. Perhaps they are reduced to penury and want—perhaps they are exposed to the rude scoffs of the world, in the fall of their fortunes. At the best, they are deprived of that care, and guardianship, and temporal provision which are made the duty of every husband and father, towards objects with whom he is so tenderly connected. A son falls in a rencounter, and an object of expectation—a source of solace is torn from the heaving parental bosom. Brothers and sisters meet no more the companion and partaker of their joys. And here, too, they all must sorrow, even more emphatically than any “others who have no hope.” But we have no power and no inclination to paint this scene in its real features of horror and hopelessness. It defies description. And for what is all this misery inflicted on survivors? A mere punctilio—the bubble of a temporary eclat—the admiration of fools. The usage which inflicts such a misery, for such a purpose, combines the essence of cruelty.

But dueling is a sin not only against God, and society—it is a SIN AGAINST ONE’S OWN SELF—and this idea presents one other general topic. The man himself, who engages in it, is sinned against in a fearful degree, and is exposed to a tremendous evil. In this point of view, dueling is an infinite folly.

Where it takes effect according to its intention, it first murders the body and then the soul. A man enacts against himself the greatest conceivable injustice—he brings upon his being the greatest possible evil, by falling in a duel. All the pleasures and all the good of life he sacrifices at a stroke. He abandons in a moment every endearment of friendship—every love of domestic life. He annihilates at once all his prospects of usefulness or distinction, in the world. As to his immortal soul, that must be ruined, for he dies while sinning against God, and while designing to sin against him. His death itself is a sin, an inextinguishable sin. Other sins which a person commits might be repented of, but this cannot be. Where death is the immediate result, there is of course no time for repentance. The expiring breath of the duelist is rather that of execration against his murderer, than of prayer for mercy. And as to the survivor himself, he seems to be in a scarcely less deplorable condition, agitated, condemned, and ever after a most unlikely subject for evangelical repentance. Sometimes as a man, he is filled with unavailing regrets, that he has committed such a cruelty, and so needlessly and thoughtlessly brought an insupportable load of suffering upon a fellow creature, to whom he owed benevo-

lence and not vengeance. Sometimes, if his conscience be not seared, he feels as an offender, its pungent reproofs, and anticipates the remorse of a damned spirit, ere he is brought to the bar of his judge. The history of dueling in this country has been marked, in one instance at least, by the immediate fearful judgments of the Almighty, when the prematurely whitened locks, and the maniac stare of the son of an honored sire, told the tale of a horror-stricken conscience, for murder committed in a duel.

Again, dueling is no proper punishment inflicted on the offender—the man who offers the insult. The absurdity here is so great, that we are amazed every one does not feel it, and recoil at such a method of punishing an offender. The absurdity lies in the circumstance, that it is as probable the person who received the insult or injury will fall, as that the injurious person will. The originally innocent man in this concern, is just as liable to be punished as the offending man, and to have the evil of death superadded to that which he has already received, or supposes himself to have received. For an intelligent being, purposely to put himself in such a condition, betrays a singular infatuation.

Again, dueling is no proper reparation for the wrongs which have been received. Mr. B. remarks: "In the present clumsy as well as barbarous mode of proceeding, the duel proves nothing, as to the merits of the case in dispute,—nothing, as to the right or wrong of the parties; but after the combat is over, and one or both have fallen victims, the merits or demerits of the case remain untouched." Dr. Paley says: "It is difficult to explain in what the satisfaction consists, or how it tends to undo the injury, or to afford a compensation for the damage already sustained. The truth is," he further intimates, "it is not considered as either. A law of honor having annexed the imputation of cowardice to patience under an affront, challenges are given and accepted with no other design than to prevent or wipe off this suspicion,"—he might have added, instead of what he has said, "and to gratify the anger and revenge arising from an affront, or the same feelings arising from being called to a combat on such an account." When the battle is fought, every one sees, that the character remains the same, or rather is blackened on the part of both, by the unjustifiable method which has been taken to set things aright. No calumny is disproved; no truth is made error. Both parties, therefore, are unjust to themselves, as well as towards each other, in submitting to a dangerous and wicked ordeal, which, let the issue be what it will, proves absolutely nothing.

Should it be inquired, What is the proper corrective of the evil? it may be expressed in a few words,—in mere hints of thoughts.

1. Let the crime be promptly punished, agreeably to the laws of the land; or if that cannot be at present, through the opposition or indifference of the public to the application of severe penalties, let the public sentiment be brought up to it. A sentiment should be created for the occasion, as there has been in regard to the temperance reformation. It should be created by reason, by argument, by persuasion, by example, or, if necessary, by association. Or if, according to Mr. B., courts of honor are desirable as a preventive, let these courts be instituted, wherever they are needed, for the adjustment of difficulties, that are now decided by an appeal to force.

2. The fear of God should be cultivated and cherished in the land. This will cure every other fear. It is a fear of man,—the fear of scorn and contempt among that class in society in which duelists and their abettors are found, which urges men on to an appeal to arms, in their private quarrels. Dueling is so far a species of cowardice. It is at least a much higher exercise of courage to meet and face this evil, than to meet and face a man in battle, when the blood is heated and stirred up by injury or insult. The one is a cool, dispassionate, intellectual courage; the other partakes of rashness, blindness, and stupidity. Paradoxical as it may seem, the former is produced by the fear of God; the latter, by the fear of man. It is no cowardice to dread offending God, or meeting him as an adversary, for this is an evil which cannot be borne. But it is cowardice of a moral kind, to dread the contempt of the world, or of one's associates, for that is an evil which can be borne. And where the object is to avoid an infinitely greater evil, it is surely the part of wisdom to cultivate the fear of God. Let this fear, then, let piety abound, and an end will come to all these unnatural contentions.

3. It would be a preventive of this crime, to strengthen our social and domestic attachments. Let the love of kindred burn more purely and brightly in the bosoms of our citizens. There can be no danger of excess here, so long as a sympathy of this kind is subordinated to the love of God, and involved in that love. This ardent attachment to relatives and home, based on gospel principles, and directed by gospel light, would render fathers and brothers of families wholly averse to every such scene of strife. An invincible repugnance would be felt on the part of these inmates of households, to plunge their beloved associ-

ates into the depths of anguish. No earthly means can be found for preventing this practice, or indeed any other practice, bringing wo and disappointment in its train, like these strong, homebred attachments. We may well adore God, in view of his wisdom and kindness, in such an appointment and relationship. It is the neglect of these attachments, the living away from home under unsocial influences, together with the projects of ambition, and the cold, calculating spirit of infidelity, that renders men indifferent to their own lives, or to the lives and happiness of others.

After all, it may be thought, that we at the North have little interest in such a subject. It is true, that we have a less interest in it, in one point of view, than attaches to some other portions of our country. Our stricter notions, our habits, and our domestic circumstances, are greater obstacles to the practice, than are found in some other parts of the nation. These have almost entirely prevented it here. But, as has already been remarked, the shedding of blood in this case,—blood unatoned for, affects the land with guilt, in whatever part it takes place; and at least our testimony against it is due, since we cannot interfere in any other manner. Besides, our high-spirited or untutored sons, as they leave us, may yield to temptation, and favor the practice abroad. This we would by all means prevent, if possible. And, furthermore, occasionally a favorite son of the North actually falls in horrid combat, when far distant from his home. Cases occur which show, that this most impious crime may be committed by a New Englander, with all his sterner educational notions, let him go to places where the practice prevails to any extent. Within our own day, one of the most venerable clergymen of Connecticut, now deceased, lost a singularly accomplished son in a duel at the southwest. He was a young man of liberal education, of beautiful person, and of the brightest promise, in respect to talents and an honorable professional career. Some years afterwards, it was our privilege to hear the aged and afflicted minister, on one occasion, in a family prayer. He seemed to be ripe for a better world; but it was a melancholy consideration, that his soul had been riven by so poignant a sorrow, and that he had been called to pass through such a scene of tribulation, on his way to that world.

ART. II.—ATLANTIC STEAM-NAVIGATION.

The Origin, Progress, and Prospects of Steam Navigation across the Atlantic, &c. pp. 76, 12mo. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 1838.

THE arrival at New York, of the Steam-packets Sirius and Great Western, after having thrice traversed the broad Atlantic, and accomplished their passages with the regularity of intervals anticipated—forms an interesting era in the progress of scientific navigation. The practicability of a stated and frequent intercourse with Europe, may now be considered as determined; and the period is probably not far distant, when numerous lines of packets, navigated mostly by steam, will arrive and depart, true to the day of their announcement. Our readers are doubtless aware of the rejoicing which has been so generally manifested, both in our own ports and in those of Great Britain, on the fortunate issue of the experiment thus made. Visits, festivals and expressions of congratulation, mutually tendered and received, with all the usual exhibitions of delight, have followed each other in quick succession. The conductors of the daily press have vied in their efforts to describe the welcomed strangers, and in praise of the enterprise. The stocks have felt the electric impulse, and have sprung up under its influence. The little pamphlet now before us is also the product of the same feeling. Probably scarcely a single person who has been greeted by the intelligence, but has shared in the general exultation. Even the disastrous catastrophes of steamboats, which are taking place almost daily, have hardly if at all, weakened the confidence established and expressed with respect to the entire feasibility and safety of the enterprise just commenced. Reasons deemed sufficient—and which will continue to be so viewed, unless some similar painful events shall occur—are found to exempt these ships from the fate of numerous others on our coast, and our rivers and lakes. Sincerely do we hope that the course of time may prove the expectation true.

We too are unwilling to pass over an event fraught with such important results without deriving therefrom reflections which look beyond the mere question of commercial convenience and of temporal benefits. It is mainly with this design, we have placed the title of this pamphlet on our pages, and while we shall aim to aid in disseminating the facts of its history, we shall dwell for a short time upon its relations to the moral and

religious aspect of the world.—It is to be presumed that our readers are familiar with the proximate history of these recent voyages contained in the little work before us. But there are also facts here stated, which are less generally known, which it may be interesting and instructive to some to have presented in connexion with our main object. The event has come upon us so suddenly, that probably few were actually prepared to anticipate it so soon. Rumors of the project had now and then been breathed; few however seemed to have deemed them serious, till a month or two before the arrival of the *Sirius*. They had not followed the history, the progress of steam navigation—or allowed themselves to speculate soberly upon its probabilities. Articles which from time to time had been published as feelers of public sentiment, met with no response and were suffered to die as it were, upon the pages in which they first appeared. The burst of feeling, therefore, which ensued, was that of a surprised people. A portion of their present enthusiasm is without doubt to be ascribed to the unreflecting love of novelty and excitement, which is ever in waiting, ready to seize any occasion of its gratification; as well as to the hopes of enriching themselves by means of the greater facilities of commerce and trade, thus unexpectedly opened. Others too have at once gone deeper into their estimates of the possible results, and have been prompted by a nobler spirit of philanthropy, to mark the bearings of such an event on the general happiness of our own race. Their minds have teemed with projects of extensive benevolence, and they have seen at no great distance, the realization of their hopes, in the diffusion every where of knowledge and civilization, with their attendant blessings. In the glowing visions of their enterprising spirits, every clime has been visited by the heralds of salvation, and the gospel has exerted its mighty power to break down the selfishness of man, and to bring him under a delightful sense of allegiance to the authority of his God and Redeemer. The sun of millennial glory is already risen, the brightness of its mid-day beams are shed down upon the realms of sin, and myriads groping without a guide or comforter in the gloomy and icebound regions of superstition and infidelity, are basking in the light and heat of its effulgence. We would not dash the hopes of any one, especially, whenever those expectations are the offspring of faith in the promises of Heaven—and we have strong confidence, that in many respects the happy results predicted will be realized. But of this, more anon. We will briefly state a few of the facts which are contained in the pamphlet before us.

Although the voyages of the *Sirius* and the *Great Western*, are the first successful effort to accomplish the regular passage of the Atlantic by steam—yet the suggestion has been made and plans proposed by numbers years since; and a partial attempt was carried into execution, in the case of the ship *Savannah*, in 1819.

The following account given of her appearance in Great Britain, is taken from a communication published in the *New London Gazette*, by Capt. Stephen Rogers, who was the sailing master of the *Savannah*.

‘FIRST ATLANTIC STEAMER!’

‘She (the *Savannah*) was seen from the telegraph station, at Cape Clear, on the southern coast of Ireland, and reported as a ship on fire. The Admiral, who lay in the Cove of Cork, despatched one of the King’s cutters to her relief; but great was their wonder at their inability, with all sail, in a fast vessel, to come up with a ship under bare poles. After several shots were fired from the cutter, the engine was stopped, and the surprise of her crew at the mistake they had made, as well as their curiosity to see the singular Yankee craft, can be easily imagined. They asked permission to go on board, and were much gratified by the inspection of this naval novelty. On approaching Liverpool, hundreds of people came off in boats to see her. She was compelled to lay outside the bar till the tide should serve for her to go in. During this time she had her colors all flying, when a boat from a British sloop-of-war came along-side and hailed. The sailing-master was on deck at the time, and answered. The officer of the boat asked him, “Where is your master?” to which he gave the laconic reply, “I have no master, sir.” “Where’s your *Captain*, then?” “He’s below; do you wish to see him?” “I do, sir.” The Captain, who was then below, on being called, asked what he wanted; to which he answered, “Why do you wear that pennant, sir?” “Because my country allows me to, sir.” “My commander thinks it was done to insult him, and if you don’t take it down he will send a force that will do it.” Captain Rogers then exclaimed to the engineer, “Get the hot water engine ready.” Although there was no such machine on board the vessel, it had the desired effect, and John Bull was glad to paddle off as fast as possible. On approaching the city, the shipping, piers, and roofs of houses were thronged with persons cheering the adventurous craft. Several naval officers, noblemen, and merchants, from London, came down to visit her, and were very curious to ascertain her speed, destination, &c. As it was soon after Jerome Bonaparte had offered a large reward to any one who would succeed in taking his brother Napoleon from St. Helena, it was suspected that that was the object of the *Savannah*. After remaining 25 days in Liverpool, during which time she was visited by thousands of people of all ranks, and her officers were treated with marked attention, she left for Copenhagen, at which place she ar-

rived in safety, where she excited similar curiosity. She proceeded thence to Stockholm, in Sweden, where she was visited by the Royal family, the foreign ministers, naval officers, nobility, and others, who, by invitation of Mr. Hughes, the American Minister, dined on board, and took an excursion among the neighboring islands, with which they were much delighted.

Lord Lyndock, of England, who was then on a tour through the North of Europe, by invitation of our Minister, took passage on board of the Savannah for St. Petersburg, which place she reached in due time. Here she was visited by the invitation of our Minister at that Court, by several noblemen, military and naval officers, who also tested her superior qualities by a trip to Cronstadt. Her officers received several valuable presents of plate, &c. &c.; and we have now before us a superb gold snuff box, which was presented to her sailing-master, Capt. Stephens Rogers, by Lord Lyndock. She sailed from St. Petersburg to Copenhagen, and thence to Arendal, in Norway, whence she returned to Savannah, where, after a passage of about 25 days, she arrived in safety, being the first steam vessel that ever crossed the Atlantic, and after performing a voyage highly creditable to American ingenuity and enterprise.

She used Liverpool coal for fuel, of which she took seventy five tons; as well as twenty five cords of wood for kindling. She had no freight, and only used her engines when not able to go at the rate of four knots an hour with her sails. By the great fire in Savannah, her owners were compelled to sell her, and she was purchased to run as a packet between that place and New York, whither she was bound, under the charge of Captain Nathaniel Holdredge, (now master of the Liverpool packet-ship *United States*,) when she was lost on the South side of Long Island.' pp. 11, 12, 13.

She is said also to have crossed the Atlantic the second time, visiting Constantinople, where her captain received presents from the Grand Seignor. The Savannah, as will be seen above, did not use steam, except when her sails could not be profitably used. In the American Rail-road Journal in New York of the 24th Nov., 1833—an article was published from the pen of Ithiel Town, Esq., well known as an architect, urging the advantages of a steam ship to Europe. The author expresses his full conviction of its practicability, and presents numerous considerations to the enterprising to engage them in the undertaking. How far this article may have influenced in the formation of the company, by which the achievement has been performed, or whether it was seen by the projector or not, we are unable to say.

It was natural that as soon as the invention of steamboats had been fully tested, and our rivers and lakes were daily witnesses of their utility, the inquiry should be directed to the question of their practicability in the navigation of the ocean.

Some minds more daring than others had ventured to predict that they would yet supersede the usual mode of navigation. Even twenty years before Fulton manufactured his first boats, Fitch who had made a boat to run on the Delaware, eight miles an hour, "boldly predicted the future and early navigation of the Atlantic by steam." It has been reserved, however, to another country than that of Fulton's, to carry out effectually so great an undertaking. Yet it is with pleasure we observe, that to a New England man, a graduate of Yale College, belongs the honor of projecting, and aided by others of actually forming a great commercial company, for the purpose of making the experiment, the success of which so greatly redounds to their fame. As early as 1833, Junius Smith, Esq., a native of Plymouth, Connecticut, and a graduate of Yale College, for many years a resident in London, was intently engaged in this enterprise. His labors in bringing his scheme to perfection are thus described :

'In maturing the plans, almost single-handed, his first effort was to unite in it some noble spirit of enterprise kindred with his own ; and in doing this, he met with Macgregor Laird, Esq., whose name is associated with the noble Lander, of African exploration memory, having been connected with him in the grand exploit of exploring the source of the Nile, [Niger?] This Laird combined with his enterprise much practical knowledge, which, in union with Smith's, displayed the project fully and clearly to the public, as being not only practicable, but feasible in all its aspects, under proper management. They, therefore, set about forming a company, amidst the doubts and opposition of multitudes ; and although in doing so they often encountered discouragement, yet nothing daunted, they only removed one obstacle to surmount another.' p. 62.

The first public movement, by issuing a prospectus for forming a company, was made in the spring of 1835. At this time, Mr. Smith, in a letter to Messrs. Wadsworth & Smith, the present agents in New York, after giving his calculations, says :

"You will remark that I have every thing to do myself. I have to hunt up directors, appoint a banker, solicitor, auditors, &c. This takes much time. Gentlemen in London of good standing, whatever may be their occupation, have generally such a mass of business upon their hands, that it is no easy matter to find those of the right stamp, willing to take upon themselves the duties of a director. This increases the labor two-fold ; for when I call upon a gentleman to offer him the office of a director, I must have a long talk, and probably have to call two or three times before I get a final answer. If he declines, why then I have to start again, and go over the same ground with some other person. All this keeps me in a sweat in the month of July. But I see no

reason to despair: on the contrary, every day affords fresh encouragement to go on." pp. 63, 64.

The prospectus is also given, in which the object of the company, called "The British and American Steam Navigation Company," is stated to be "to establish a regular and certain communication by Steam vessels between Great Britain and the United States," and the time of average passage is not expected to exceed fifteen days, making a gain of at least two weeks on the average passage of the usual packets. The average speed in all weathers is assumed to be two hundred nautic miles per day. It is remarkable how nearly these calculations have been fulfilled. Various statements of expenditures and profits are also given in the same paper. The plan gradually came to maturity. In the summer of 1835, the company was formed, with a capital of a million sterling, the direction completed, and a contract was immediately entered into for the building of the first steam ship for their purpose. The original calculation was to have had the ship ready for sea in the autumn of 1837. This contract failed, and consequently a delay occurred by which the "British Queen," as the ship is termed, (her first proposed name was the "Royal Victoria,") will not leave Great Britain till August of the present year. The Sirius was chartered merely to supply her place till she was completed, as another company formed subsequently, was about to take to themselves the honor of a first appearance in our ports. We think that the honor has fallen where it justly belongs, and we are therefore glad, that the Sirius was the first to be greeted with the loud acclaims of a rejoicing community. It would be aside from our purpose to go into detail. By the description, the "British Queen," when she makes her appearance in New York, will be worth seeing. She is probably the largest ship in the world. We have heard one who has seen and examined her, speak of her in the most enthusiastic terms. Her tonnage is stated to be 1890 tons, 1100 more than the Sirius and 500 more than the Great Western, her length of deck 260 feet. It is calculated that she may be able to carry 500 passengers of various classes, besides 800 or 1000 tons of measurement for goods. She is to cost £100,000 sterling—and is built with great care, and with much attention to strength and ability to stem the waves. She is to have but two masts, we believe—these being deemed sufficient for all of the purposes of the sails which may be needed. Numerous recent improvements in the engines, rendering them more safe and operative, have also been introduced—and from the account we have had of her construction it would seem as if

she was most effectually guarded against the dangers both of fire and water.

The pamphlet before us contains a full description of the *Sirius* and the *Great Western*, and of their voyages across the ocean—and is illustrated by good wood-cuts, representing the two ships. The *Sirius*, said to be a new ship, about "six months at work," started from Cork, where she last touched in Great Britain to receive passengers, on the 4th of April, and came to anchor off the Battery at New York on the 23d of the same month. Her log-book shows that she was thoroughly tested, as she encountered severe weather—storms, "breezes with squalls and heavy head sea," &c.

'The *Sirius*, Lieut. R. Roberts, of the R. N., commander, came to anchor off the Battery early on the morning of the 23d: where crowds were collected to look at her, and a continual stream of visitors was to be seen going and returning.

'She is a finely modelled vessel of 700 tons; long, straight, and low; schooner rigged; and sits lightly on the water. Her two engines are of 320 horse power each. Her boilers were supplied the whole way with fresh water, by means of a distilling apparatus, which converted the salt into fresh water. The distilling worms, small copper tubes, measure, as is stated, near *four miles*.' pp. 16, 17.

The *Great Western* also left Bristol, England, April 7th, and reached New York in the afternoon of the 23d—thus presenting the two ships at anchor in the same port on that day, after having traversed the ocean, the one in eighteen and the other in sixteen days. The *Great Western's* log-book likewise shows some stormy weather—"squally—strong gales—strong winds," &c. She was under command of Lieutenant Hosken, R. N. and is thus described:

'The *Great Western* is a vessel of 1340 tons, of which it is computed the gross weight of the steam apparatus is 490; that of the boilers alone, with the water they contain, being 180, and the piston cranks 17 tons each. In the space surrounding the engines is stowage room, in iron boxes of very convenient construction, for 800 tons of coals, whilst the diameter of her paddle-wheels are not less than 38 feet, and are moved by 450 horse power. The dimensions of this fine vessel are such as to afford a state cabin or saloon of 82 feet in length, with an extreme breadth of 34 feet, but of this a certain portion is taken up on each side for convenient and separate sleeping berths, except in the center, where the entire space being left open, forms, instead, two commodious recesses, elegantly fitted up with sofas and looking glasses. The saloon is decorated in the style of the age of *Louis Quatorze*. The sides, which separate it from the sleeping berths, consist of pannels, divided

by upright pilasters, surmounted by capitals of that character. The pannels contain allegorical and emblematic paintings in the style of Watteau, by Mr. Parris. The prevailing color of the apartment, pilasters, &c., is a light salmon or flesh color, with rich gold ornaments and decoration; but the frames of the looking glasses are in imitation of Dresden china, and those of the settees are in carved oak. The cushions of the latter are covered with a new article, composed of horse hair and American grass, said to be of a greater durability than silk, of which it has so much the appearance. This apartment, when completed and furnished, will certainly be one of the most elegant and costly of the kind ever executed. At the lower end of the saloon, on the right, is a small apartment, elegantly fitted up with sofas and draperies, as a withdrawing room, exclusively for the use of the lady passengers. At the corresponding corner, on the left, is the steward's room, and a staircase leading to a cabin under the saloon, entirely fitted up with sleeping berths of the first class, for gentlemen. The fore-cabin, which is divided from the principal one by the engine-room, is forty-six feet long, and of a proportionate breadth, having on each side berths enclosed by partitions, and doors painted to resemble ornamented wood, with gold mouldings; and beyond is a mess-room for the officers of the ship. The whole number of berths is 128, exclusive of those for servants, and other accommodations. The engine-room, placed between the saloons and the fore cabin, is admirably arranged. The engineers are not cramped up in a place too small for convenience, but have plenty of room to attend to the operation of the engines, and to pay due attention to their working. Affixed to the frame-work of the engine is a clock or index, by which the number of the strokes performed by the machinery, and the rate of their performance, is shown with the greatest accuracy, and we are told that without requiring to be again wound up, it will mark as many strokes as will suffice for the whole voyage.

'The coal tanks are so disposed, that, as fast as they are emptied during the voyage, they will be filled with sea water, the fuel and water alternately supplying the place of ballast.' pp. 30, 31, 32.

Both ships participated in the welcome to our shores, and a full account of the festivities and expressions of feeling accorded is given in the pamphlet before us. These we must however pass over. Suffice it to say, that they were, if not in all respects such as rigid temperance men could have desired, at least not lacking in the common methods of entertainment and good cheer. Individuals of both nations mingled in the entertainments, and hailed the day as one which augured well for their mutual prosperity and lasting fellowship.

Speeches were made among others by the Hon. Daniel Webster, Her Majesty's Consul Mr. Buchanan, and by John Ridge a chief of the Cherokee nation. We have dwelt thus far on the facts connected with the arrival of these ships, because we

think the event an important one, and deserving commemoration on our pages. It only remains for us to say, in conclusion of this part of our subject, that, as our readers are aware, the *Sirius* sailed from New York for London on the 1st, and the *Great Western* for Bristol on the 7th of May, the former with forty-eight and the latter with sixty or more passengers. Another British steam-vessel, the *Sir Lionel Smith*, left New York for London on the 14th of May, "and the *City of Kingston*, also a British steam-ship, sailed from Baltimore on the 21st, for the same destination making four steam-ships from the United States in less than a month." The *Sirius* and the *Great Western* accomplished their return voyages in safety, the former in eighteen, the latter in fourteen days, and were greeted with equal enthusiasm in Great Britain. The commander of the *Sirius*, we are informed, received an invitation from the Queen to appear at her court, and it is thought that when he next comes to our country in the command of the new ship, the *British Queen*, which was launched the 24th of May, being the Queen's birth day, it may be as *Sir Richard Roberts*. At the time we write this, the experiment has been repeated; the *Great Western* and the *Sirius* have again visited New York, and are again on their way to their own country, bearing the renewed manifestations of pleasure in our citizens. The success of the enterprise has called out additional efforts in England, and three ships of the burthen of 2000 tons are already contracted for by the British and American Steam-Navigation company—while at Liverpool, Dublin and other ports, the determination is expressed to participate in the enterprise, by the formation of regular lines of steam-packets to the United States. Should nothing occur to prevent these designs, and should equal success attend them as has hitherto been enjoyed—in a few years the Atlantic will be covered by steam-packets, crossing and re-crossing, to almost every great port.

Especially should the electro-magnetic power eventually be brought into use for this purpose, as it perhaps may be, there is scarcely any limits to the expectations of improvement in the modes of intercourse between this country and England. We forgot to mention before, that another ship called the *Columbus*, a quick-silver steam-ship, was announced in a Liverpool paper, as about to leave early in April for New York—to be propelled by two patent vapor engines, of one hundred and twenty horse-power. The following is a description of her machinery in that paper:

“This steamer differs from all others in having literally no boiler. She has steam generators, in which water in small quantities is made to drop from an orifice on a heated plate, which rests upon a stratum of mercury about three inches and a half thick, which is heated up to the temperature of three or four hundred degrees by means of a fire underneath. The rest of the engine is similar to the common low pressure engines, except that the cold water cistern is kept cool by means of pipes of cold salt water running through it. It is originally filled with fresh water, so that the evil of using salt water for condensation is avoided. The fuel burnt is coke and stone coal, and the vessel will carry sufficient for fifty days’ consumption. The vessel steamed the whole of the way from London, and frequently attained a speed of eleven knots per hour. Such is the construction of this vessel; and it must be acknowledged that great advantages, even for short voyages, are obtained by the use of machinery occupying so little room as this does. I am told, however, that it is found extremely difficult to keep the joints of the vessel containing the mercury perfectly tight, and that the effect has been seriously to affect the health of the men employed. It appears to me, however, that some substitute for this volatile and dangerous metal might be employed, say Newton’s fusible metal, which melts at two hundred degrees, and which is not at all volatile.” pp. 59, 60.

In this pamphlet, likewise, is an account of a steam-vessel intended for the Liverpool trade, on the principle of Bennet’s new invention, which it is supposed will produce a great saving—nine-tenths it is said—of fuel, and enable the vessel to reach Liverpool in ten days, besides affording other important advantages. She was announced as to be ready for her first voyage to Liverpool on the 10th of June. We are not aware of her sailing, as yet, though the fact might have escaped our notice. Leaving these details, we proceed, briefly, to throw out some suggestions as to the probable effects of the experiment thus made.

It is obvious that the bringing of England and the United States, within a fortnight’s sail of each other, must materially influence the prospects of both countries. Many who would never have crossed the Atlantic, will be led to do so. The situation of either country will be better understood by the other; the facilities of trade will be vastly increased, and as we think, the two countries must almost necessarily be drawn into a closer alliance. We are aware, that the proximity of countries does not always produce the most peaceful results. Witness England and France, which have been so often at war with each other. But while the United States and Great Britain are liable, as we know, to plunge into hostility with each other, nothing can be more at variance with the interests of the two na-

tions, than such a state of warfare. To neither could there be advantages in it sufficient to counterbalance the injury they would sustain. The commerce and trade of both would materially suffer, and it may be a question, whether at the close of such a struggle, Great Britain might not find herself deprived of her Canadian possessions, an acquisition the benefit of which to us, to say the least, would be very problematical. Than such a war, no event could be more deprecated by the philanthropist and the Christian. In the keeping of these two great nations, by the providence of God, is placed the happiness of a large portion of the globe. From them are to emanate enterprises to bless mankind. They only possess the religion of Christ, in its purest condition on earth, and to them, eventually, the myriads now in paganism, must look for the light of life. Other countries may be in a high degree civilized, and the progress of the arts and sciences among them rapid. But it is in England and the United States that the moral power of truth is gathering its strength, and preparing for the mightiest grappling with ignorance and sin. England is the older country—every thing in her enterprises is marked with the impressions of permanence, and have respect to the final result. She can afford to proceed more leisurely, and therefore may avoid many of the evils which we in our dashing progress, must almost necessarily incur. Every thing among us, is done as it were in a hurry, and no wonder that often the old adage, "haste makes waste," often finds in our country, its verification. Men are in haste to be rich, and they are made to suffer the penalties of their want of forethought. We are in haste to have our canals and rail-roads completed, and they are consequently not so well done. This fact is strikingly exemplified in respect to the British steam-ships, and our own. Probably no more beautiful models can be found than those which ply upon our own waters. But while the British boats are in many respects less convenient or elegant, they are built with far greater attention to safety. The timbers are put together with much skill, and precautions are taken to prevent the calamities so frequent among us. No man is allowed to be an engineer, unless after seven years' apprenticeship he has passed a regular examination before the proper board. Each ship has three engineers, able men, the youngest of whom must be competent in case of necessity to take the place of the first engineer. Penalties also exist, to deter from carelessness. The consequence is, that scarcely an instance occurs of a steamship being blown up or lost. The peculiar necessity of avoiding such catastrophes makes the owners careful to take every

precaution that their vessels shall be strongly constructed. The community, protected by such laws as are there in force, would not sleep quiet amid the continual bursting of boilers, and the loss of lives. It cannot be said, that the trial is not as great in the British channel as along our own coast. The storms and tempests there are proverbial; yet the steam-ships are regular in their sailing for the ports in Ireland and elsewhere, undeterred by the winds or waves. May we not hope, that by the frequent visits of the British steam-packets, we shall learn also to proceed on the same principle, and prefer safety to beauty or dispatch. Our ship-builders may be led thus to combine their skill and science, in the effort to furnish ships of requisite strength and power, while at the same time, so far as possible, they may preserve the characteristic symmetry and beauty of frame and architecture.

The benefits of intercourse among civilized nations are numerous, and many of them also too obvious to need particular mention. The improvements of one nation are soon transmitted to another; habits of thinking and action in the one, insensibly exert a powerful influence in molding the projects and enterprises of the other. Laws and conventional usages, which have nothing but long antiquity, or some unreasonable caprice, to recommend them, gradually give way before the power of truth thus brought to bear upon them, in the actual observation and experience of others, and a sympathy of aim springs up which is adapted to strengthen both. Let the people of England, for instance, learn, by actual observation, the true condition of our churches, and they would begin to lose some of their dread of the principle of voluntary associations. Let them come among us at all times in greater numbers, and here, by fair-minded inquiry, ascertain the history of revivals, join us in our worship, and blend their hearts with our own; let them become conversant with our feelings, and thus, of themselves, study our characters, and rightly appreciate our condition; and many prejudices, which still linger with them, and often, in spite of the better feelings of their hearts, make them unjust in their judgments, would be relinquished. So too, we may be led more attentively to acquaint ourselves with life as it is among them,—may find apologies for what we deem objectionable,—be led to avoid their errors, and to imitate their virtues. We are aware, that the same facilities which thus are afforded for the transmission of what is good, may also bring in upon us the vices of the old world. An undesirable class of population may be poured in upon us; the corruptions and de-

gradations of wickedness may be increased, by the power of multiplying its sources of evil from its favorite haunts abroad. We know the objections that may be urged in reference to the spirit of money making, which will be fostered, as it is thought, by the increased inlets to enterprise and speculation. We give these suggestions all their weight, and we acknowledge that weight not small. But after all, it seems to us the balance is in favor of a closer regular intercourse. The more precision which can be given to the commercial relations between two countries so situated, the more legitimate will be the operations of capital and industry, the less likely, as it seems to us, will be the desire to rush into unlawful and hazardous schemes of business. If every person possessed the same knowledge of local advantages, the inducements to speculation must, in no small degree, be taken away. It is because one man is in advance of the other in his intelligence, that he is often tempted to enrich himself at another's expense. We believe, too, there is much wealth in Great Britain, which might find its way to this country, to be invested so as might promote the productive industry of our country.

But it is in the nobler relation of fellow-laborers in the great cause of human happiness, that the subject of intercourse between Great Britain and the United States deserves consideration. Already they have mutually exerted an influence on each other. From them we have caught the grand idea of a National Bible Society; while they are equally indebted to us for the Temperance reformation. It is pleasing to trace the progress of both people towards a union in benevolent effort. And what might not their combined energies effect? The successful lines of communication across the Atlantic by steam, will lead to the determination in the same way to traverse the Pacific and the Indian oceans. Allow it to be successful, and it will not be long before India, China, and the isles of the sea, will be witness to the wonderful developments of steam. Perhaps there is scarcely any improvement in civilized life, which will so much strike the uncivilized pagan, or convince him of the immense superiority of civilization. The distance between the extreme portions of the globe being thus shortened, and a safe passage rendered practicable, those countries which are now, from their distance, so entirely ignorant of the nations where christianity is acknowledged, will be brought into more direct contact with the operations of civilized life. Missionaries of the cross may perform their voyages to the fields of their labor within half or a third of the time. Intelligence may

be transmitted back and forth frequently and at short intervals. If God, in his mercy, pours down his Spirit on some missionary station, christians in England and America may have it in their power to rejoice in such a dispensation of loving-kindness, before even the scenes which call forth their praise have ceased to be enjoyed in that place of their manifestation. There is that in the sympathy thus created, which is adapted to waken a livelier interest in the welfare of its subjects. The breath of prayer will oftener rise from the true altar of the heart, as the incense of gratitude, and memory will dwell with increased delight on any participation had in thus sending out the gospel to bless mankind. Besides, the natural tendency of a more extended intercourse with other nations, is, to promote a feeling of benevolent regard. There is no truer way to render any people selfish and narrow in their views, than to shut them out from the acquaintance with other people. God, in peopling the various parts of our world, never designed that they should be thus secluded. Had he done so, he would doubtless have constituted it differently. No wants, beyond what might have been gratified on the spot where they originated, would have prompted the secluded being to explore other realms, or seek an acquaintance with other people. Man is one great family, and is designed to be one great brotherhood. Hence their social capacities. It is a perversion, when any people insulate themselves. Thus the Chinese have done, and the consequence is, that notwithstanding their improvements in some things, and their ingenuity, they are among the most selfish and proud of all nations. A few months' or years' intercourse with other nations, would lower their self-estimation, and teach them how far short of perfection they are, how much that is truly valuable they might learn, of those whom they now count as barbarians. The voice of prophecy has proclaimed a glorious era in reserve for the church of God. To hasten this period, the way must be prepared not only morally but naturally. As its approach draws near, the world must rapidly advance in every method of improvement. Such has hitherto been the progress of things, and such, in the nature of the case, must be the subsequent history of the world. Not a year but witnesses some great discovery, invention, or modification of existing means, which is destined to exert a mighty influence in calling out and giving direction to the energies of man. Look at the increase of knowledge and the channels of communication which a few centuries have furnished. Is it to be supposed, that all this additional science and art brought into action, is to

leave us where it found us? It is not possible. The improvements of one age must be transmitted to another, wherein new adaptations and applications may be discovered, by which their power may be increased ten-fold or a hundred-fold. Such too must be the effect in regard to moral power created and brought into action. We can now, by means of stereotyping, throw off thousands of copies of the bible or tracts, where previously we could only at most prepare some few hundreds. We can make three voyages in less time than it took to make one. We can traverse countries of remote extent, where before, at most, we could but go over a single province. Great questions relating to civil constitutions, to the happiness of nations, are to be decided, and many are the people who are to aid in forming the decision. A community of feeling, in all that is honorable, and just, and good, is to be created and extended. The spark struck out by one nation, must be passed over to another, until all are in one bright blaze of irradiating truth. It is in this point of view we would estimate the results of steam-navigation. Such a power, so applied, must be productive of important effects. It must have a tendency more and more to bring nations under a process of assimilation. The christian should stand ready to seize upon every contribution of the sciences or arts, and turn it into the great storehouse of moral enginery for subduing man to the power of the gospel. Thus civilization and the religion of the gospel will go hand in hand, and fulfill their original and legitimate destination. The heart of the child of God will rejoice at every new accession to the means of convenience and comfort to man; for he may feel, that it will swell the amount of moral power which he is to employ in glorifying his Maker, by turning a world unto holiness. The weapons of her unholy warfare will be wrested from infidelity, and every assault against the truth prove vain; for her poisoned shafts will be warded off by the shield of a better science, and fall pointless on the panoply of a well-sustained faith.

When we consider the obligation of the christian to employ every faculty and all the means that God may place at his disposal, for the extension of the dominion of truth; when we think of the consequences of a closer intercourse between nations, to be effected through the agency of steam, it will not be deemed strange, that we have devoted a few pages to this subject. Men will never think by steam—nor speak or write by steam, but their thoughts, their words, and their writings in all their freshness, may, through its agency, reach myriads who otherwise might never hear of them. This fact shows the in-

creasing responsibility of all those who through the press, influence the formation of public opinion. Every extension, direct or indirect, of this great instrument of moral power, renders the claim the more imperative on all who use it, to see to it, that they use it for the welfare of mankind. It is by the combined energy of civilized and christianized nations, that the true principles of liberty and righteousness, are to be propagated and explained. But to effect this union of effort, is no slight labor. The action of each must be felt on the other—and whatever tends to break down the distance, physical or moral, which is interposed, and draws them into mutual confidence, as under the operation of the same great interests, will have an important result in accomplishing such an object. One great difficulty is removed, when nations far apart can thus frequently reach forth the hand of fellowship, and the pulse-throb of benevolent action, is felt almost simultaneously by both. The circle of unselfish purposes, will widen their influence, and the remotest people may be embraced within its range. Jew and Gentile, bond and free—the objects of its self-blessing bounty, will share in the love which prompts its inquiries and its ministrations of good. Arguments, illustrations, and appeals to sympathy and compassion—the urgency of the heart that has no rest till a slumbering world is awakened to feel and to act aright—will thus at once press the conscience, both at home and abroad. When so vast an array of moral power is at work—when Europe and America gird themselves to the onset, who can predict how rapid may be the success? We may not live to see it: most probably, scarce its dawn will greet us with its cheering harbingers of blessing—but in that day, when peace is enthroned in the hearts of all, and the song of salvation breaks its notes of jubilee, from the glad bosom of myriads in every land—that consummation will be acknowledged, under God, to have been hastened by events, in appearance slightly connected with its coming, and the establishment of regular steam-communication between this country and England may be seen to have been one link in the great chain of causes, which have conducted to so happy a termination.

ART. III.—PRACTICAL VIEW OF REVIVALS OF RELIGION.

It may be proper that we should settle at the outset, *What is a Revival of Religion?* For common and almost technical as this phrase has become, it may be understood, by those who oppose all earnestness in religion, and all true religion itself, to denote any and every species of excitement on the subject of religion, or of which religion is the occasion. Consequently, the wildest and most extravagant outbursts of fanaticism, at any time or in any place, may be injuriously and falsely dignified by this name; and thus the cause of true religion may be deeply wronged in the eyes of many. By a revival of religion, then, is meant this, and this only;—That the great truths of natural and revealed theology do, at certain times, and under certain combinations of circumstances, and agreeably to certain laws of God's spiritual providence, become invested in the view of many minds in a community at the same time, with unusual clearness and force, so as to constitute in regard to those minds, as they had not been before, the operative principles of action, usually awakening much deep and solemn feeling, and producing under the special power of God, many interesting and permanent changes of moral character,—such changes as every cordial friend to virtue and to human happiness must approve. To be a little more specific in our statement. In a real revival of religion, two things always occur and go together: Evangelical truth is then *seen* with far greater strength and vividness of perception than at other and ordinary times. *Complacency*, also, in the truth as thus seen, begins then by numbers to be experienced for the first time, under the transforming influence of the Spirit of God upon the sinner's heart. The claims of a holy and righteous God are then felt and realized, and delighted in as they are not at other times. Sin then appears in a new and more appalling light than at other times. Eternity with all its dread solemnities appears at such a time comparatively nearer, and this present world vanishes away, as it were, into nothing. In the case too of those who at such a season, yield to the "strivings" of the Divine Spirit and give up their hearts to God, there is a peace, a joy felt by them, which is quite new, and such as they never felt before, growing out of conscious submission to God, penitence for sin, and reliance on Christ for salvation. A revival always presupposes, not only excitement about religion, but excitement in view of *truth*, and followed by a cordial embracing of the truth

in the love of it, and consequently by a holy life. Wherever such a state of things as that just spoken of occurs, *there* is what is appropriately called a revival of religion. It matters not by what particular instrumentality it may have been produced, or to what extent greater or smaller it may have prevailed. The essential characteristics of such a work, are that the Spirit of God made the *truth* effectual in the saving conversion of a number of individuals in the same community, at or near the same time. This is, briefly, the doctrine of revivals as it will be held up to view in this article, and as evangelical christians generally in this country are supposed to regard it.

Revivals of religion are greatly to be *desired*. We make this remark in full view of all that has sometimes been said, or hinted, respecting the evils of religious excitements. We regard these religious excitements as very great, as unspeakable blessings to the church and to the world. If, from want of due caution in conducting them, or from other causes, evils should incidentally arise out of them in some cases (and what good thing is not liable in the hands of imperfect and sinful men, to be made the occasion, indirectly, of producing some evil?) still we must be permitted, after some careful observation on this subject, to express our strong and decided conviction, that revivals of religion, when viewed in their true and appropriate character and results, deserve to be regarded as most blessed seasons of God's mercy to mankind, and as calling for our gratitude and praise. Let us look carefully at a few *facts*, touching this point. Consider, first, the augmented numbers, comprising all ages and descriptions of persons, who are converted in consequence of revivals; remembering as we proceed, what is the real worth of every single soul, thus plucked from the jaws of death; and let us compare the number of those converted in revivals, with what would have been, probably, the number of conversions without revivals. The writer has been in the ministry, among the same people, a little upwards of twenty years. During that period, he finds, that of the whole number of those who have been added to the church under his care, by profession, about the proportion of seven eighths have been, more or less directly and obviously, the fruits of revivals. That is, about seven eighths of those who have been brought into the church, have been such persons as probably never would have made a profession of religion had it not been for revivals. The baptisms, infant and adult, are about in the same proportion. And among those who have professed religion as the fruits of revivals, the cases of apostacy have been extremely rare, and

the evidence of piety quite as good, it is thought, to say the least, as in the case of the one eighth who have been brought into the church without the influence of revivals. The writer is, also, a member of a Consociation of churches, among whom according to official returns recently made, between seven and eight hundred hopeful conversions took place during the last winter and spring; a larger number than ordinarily takes place within the same congregations in several years, when there is no revival. Now what has been thus true under the writer's eye and within the immediate circle of his own pastoral labors, would appear to be substantially true also (it is thought) if we had the statistics which a wider field of observation would furnish. Revivals then, it would seem, are greatly to be desired when we consider the greater *number* of persons who are thus, in a judgment of charity, converted from the ranks of impenitence and brought to take an open stand on the side of christianity, beyond what would be the probable fact if no revivals were to exist among us.

Again. There is another fact to be looked at, which has a bearing on this subject. The tone of enlightened christian feeling and christian action, on the part of those who have already espoused the cause of the Redeemer, is greatly elevated by means of revivals of religion, beyond what it ordinarily would be, if these blessed seasons of God's peculiar mercy were withheld from us. In the ordinary state of the public mind on the subject of religion, it is well known, that the influence of the world is apt to become predominant, at least to such an extent as greatly to deduct from, if not wholly to paralyze, the proper influence of religious considerations over men's minds. Revivals come in as powerful checks to that terrific spirit of worldliness which is so apt to creep in upon the church where these checks do not exist. The piety of the churches, and along with it their maintaining the great fundamental truths of the gospel, with proper zeal and firmness, would be very greatly endangered, were it not for the kindly quickening impulse to the christian's heart and conscience which these seasons of special Divine mercy administer. They break the christian's hold on this world as nothing else will. They impress the vanity of worldly things. They bring eternity and eternal things nearer. They make men feel the worth of the soul. They help us to realize the value of the gospel, the preciousness of the Redeemer, the boundless grace of God in a sinner's salvation. In a revival, there is a new and different, and juster medium through which all spiritual objects are contemplated. Then it is, that christians

are especially active in the cause of Christ. Then it is, that they especially love one another. Then, that they feel for impenitent sinners, and pray and labor for their salvation. We cannot but think, that revivals would be greatly to be desired, were it only for the healthful influence which they exert upon those who are already christians, in keeping alive their graces, and in upholding divine truth both in its letter and spirit among them. Take away our precious revivals, and who can tell how soon the living pulse of piety would cease to beat in our churches, and how soon we should have another gospel preached in our pulpits.

Revivals, moreover, are the most direct and most powerful of all causes in promoting the public morals of a community. How benign the influence which they exert in aid of the temperance cause; in redeeming the sabbath from neglect; in bringing men to the sanctuary, and leading them to engage in the worship of God there, many of whom, in an ordinary state of things, would never enter the house of God! And more indirectly, in a thousand forms, by the simple process of giving to men's consciences an increased susceptibility of a sense of pain, and remorse, and apprehension, in view of sin and wickedness of every name. Revivals, also, operate as a powerful encouragement to the labors of the ministry, by letting those who are clothed with the sacred office see, very clearly and strikingly, that their labors are not in vain in the Lord. This kind of encouragement, this incentive to fresh animation, and zeal, and energy, and courage, in discharging the duties of an ambassador of Christ to the guilty and the lost, is, oftentimes, exactly what is needed, in order to break up the monotony of a heartless round of inefficient labors, and to raise to new hope and new efforts the sinking mind of the tired, discouraged laborer. On this point we need not dwell. Every minister of Christ, who has spent any considerable time in that difficult and responsible employment, knows what we mean, and can easily anticipate what we would say. By means of revivals, also, more is done for the missionary cause, and for the conversion of the world. Every outpouring of the Spirit raises up new friends to the cause of missions, increases the amount of funds devoted to that cause, wafts to heaven in prayer more numerous and more fervent desires, that the kingdom of God may come, and his will be done, on earth as it is done in heaven. Let our revivals stop, and what would become of the great enterprise of converting mankind to God? what would become of our benevolent associations? what would become of our hopes of an approaching millenium of rest and holiness to this world of sin

and sorrow? From every estimate which we can now form on this subject, it would seem clear, beyond a doubt, that we must have revivals of religion, and still more powerful revivals than we have hitherto had, or else (judging from the past) the progress of this world's conversion to God can never be consummated. As matters now are, the prospect sometimes looks sufficiently dark. What would it be, were the windows of heaven to be shut up, and the effusions of divine grace, in the form of extended and powerful revivals, to cease and come to an end?

But there is a brighter aspect to this subject. Revivals are to be *expected*. When the proper means are used, these seasons of special religious interest in a community are not only to be desired, they are precisely such occurrences as are to be looked for; they are what an enlightened christian, with the bible in his hand, and the history of the church before him, would expect. There are some specific considerations which would lead us to expect them.

We should expect them from the *social* character of man, and from the well-known power of *sympathy* or fellow-feeling which belongs to man's nature. That is, if true religion were to exist at all in our world, we should expect, from what we know of the susceptibility of one mind to be moved by another, that there would be particular seasons, more or less frequently recurring, during which a subject so important to every man as religion is, would be seen exerting a more wide-spread and a more potent influence over men's minds than at other times, and that large masses of society would be, or at least might be, moved as by a common impulse. We think it would be rational beforehand to look, under an economy of grace and the actual existence of religion on earth, for just such spiritual phenomena on this subject as every revival presents. We should expect, that one mind, becoming strongly interested on the subject of its salvation, would be the occasion of another mind being roused to attend to the same subject, and that this would lead to the same result in the case of another, and thus that the interest on this momentous subject, which perhaps began with an individual, would be, or easily might be, extended through a large community, until there should be but one paramount and absorbing object of pursuit throughout the whole body. And the denser the population in that community, and the more numerous the points of mutual contact among the members of that community, and the stronger the sympathies which linked them together, the more general and powerful (should we expect) the revival would in that case become,

other things at the same time being equal. It would be strange if mankind, being placed together in a state of society, and possessing as they do such susceptibilities in various respects of being acted upon one by another, and feeling as they do so many ligaments binding them together, should be serious and anxious about their salvation only one at a time, each separately from the others around him, and as though they lived on opposite sides of the globe. It would be strange, if men's social feelings and common sympathies, which operate to bind them together, and to produce a degree of fellow-feeling and sameness of action among them on all other subjects, should on this subject wholly cease to operate in the production of any such effects. We see men moved simultaneously, in large masses, on all other subjects of any general interest or importance to them. Why should we not expect it would be so on the subject of religion, under the agency of the Holy Spirit? What a sensation through a community is sometimes produced by a single instance of mortality in that community! Who has not seen how quickly a numerous circle of mourners, on meeting together, and on seeing each other under some common affliction which has befallen them, are moved to sadness and tears, as if their feelings of grief and sorrow were contagious? Why does a political election, to vary the illustration, sometimes so strongly interest and put into commotion a whole people? Not, always, the intrinsic importance of the occasion. Not, always, any distinct apprehension of much good or evil, that are expected to flow from it. Let the individuals go to the place of election, separately and alone, and there deposit their silent, solitary vote, and how greatly would the interest of the scene be diminished! Now we contend, that the same principle of our nature, the susceptibility of being ourselves moved by seeing others moved, on any subject of general interest to mankind, is to be expected to operate on the subject of religion, as truly and as fully as on any other subjects. It would be unphilosophical, and contrary to analogy, not to look for it. Nay, more than this; we should expect, from the principle of our nature just mentioned, that (under the Spirit's influence) there would be, or at least rationally might be, a more extended, and sudden, and powerful feeling, excited in a community on the subject of religion, than would be likely to take place on any other and merely secular subject, on account of the paramount importance of religion over all other possible subjects of regard. Thus far, the argument in favor of revivals is drawn simply from the social character of man, and from the sympathies

which belong naturally to the human mind, on all subjects in which men have a common interest.

We now proceed a step farther, and shall show, that revivals are to be expected, from the bible. It was a promise under the Mosaic economy, that in the times of the Messiah, or under the new testament dispensation, the Spirit of God should be poured out, and religion revive and prevail, as it had not done before. See Isaiah 44 : 3—5. "I will pour water upon him that is thirsty, and floods upon the dry ground : I will pour my Spirit upon thy seed, and my blessing upon thy offspring : and they shall spring up as among the grass, as willows by the water-courses. One shall say I am the Lord's ; and another shall call himself by the name of Jacob ; and another shall subscribe with his hand unto the Lord, and surname himself by the name of Israel." See also, Joel 2 : 28—32. These passages began to receive their accomplishment just after the ascension of Christ, in the wonderful effusion of the Spirit of God, recorded in the second chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, and in the subsequent revivals, of that day, by which many thousands of people were converted and brought into the christian church. These same inspired predictions have continued to be more and more fully and strikingly accomplished, in the revivals with which God has continued to bless the church and the world down to the present day, and by means of which he designs to give to the gospel a universal spread among all nations and to fill the whole earth with his glory. Accordingly, wherever the gospel is faithfully preached, accompanied with a proper spirit of prayer on the part of christians, there we find that at short intervals, these special visitations of divine mercy do actually take place, and many souls are converted to God in them. Now our argument is, that from what is said in the bible on this subject under both dispensations, the old and the new, and especially as compared with what has occurred in the actual history of the church from time to time and in obvious fulfillment of the voice of prophecy in relation to this point, we should be led to expect just such seasons of special "refreshing from the presence of the Lord," as those which are in fact mercifully vouchsafed to us. It is not visionary to look for them. It is not fanatical to calculate upon them, when the proper means are made use of to secure their taking place. They are soberly and rationally to be expected, on the ground, that the bible itself encourages such an expectation of them.

Besides further : We do not see how the world is ever to be converted to God without something of the nature of revivals

of religion, as a means to that end. In the ordinary way of gaining converts to the Redeemer, without any such excitement of the public attention in a community to the subject of religion, as constitutes, according to our definition already given, a revival of religion, we do not see how this world is to be, or can be recovered from its lost and ruined condition and brought under the full and proper influence of the gospel. The occurring of here and there a single solitary instance of conversion, while the great mass of the people lie buried in profound slumber on this subject, and are putting forth no exertion towards their salvation, will never bring about the conversion of the whole race. The general stupidity must be broken up in some way; the common mass of the population in any and every part of the world must be moved; a sensation of alarm in view of danger, a conviction of guilt while remaining (as the impenitent sinner does) in voluntary estrangement from God, must somehow be made to pervade and arouse large bodies of men, and set them to thinking and acting in earnest towards their salvation; else, how can we reasonably expect, that the inhabitants of this entire globe will ever give up their sins and their lying vanities and turn to God. To us it seems clear beyond a doubt, that this world's conversion to the Lord Jesus Christ, is quite a hopeless matter, an occurrence that never will take place, without the agency of revivals to bring it to pass. Take away our revivals, and how is the public mind to be moved? How is the church itself to be simultaneously excited to the proper tone of feeling and of action? How is the vast inert dead mass of impenitent sinners to be reached and roused to "newness of life?" And, without revivals, where is the moral lever that can heave heathenism out of its place? The insulated power of the Spirit, confined to a few individual cases here and there in a community, and acting irrespectively of the known laws of sympathy between mind and mind (if such a thing could exist) would never be adequate to accomplish the desired end. The world cannot be converted to God in this way. At least, so it appears to us. But the world will one day be converted to God; "the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth as the waters fill the seas." Are not revivals, then, to be looked for? and revivals too, of greater power and wider extent, than have hitherto been experienced. Where is the improbability of supposing, that whole nations, the largest associated bodies of men on the globe, are to feel the power of the Spirit poured out upon them in one general and simultaneous effusion, and to evince, that they do feel this power of the Spirit by a general

and simultaneous turning to God,—just as the whole army of dry bones in the prophet's vision were re-animated and stood upon their feet at once, when the breath from the four winds came upon them. The foregoing are a few of the considerations which would seem to make it reasonable to expect confidently, that revivals of religion would occur from time to time, wherever the proper means are put in operation for that end; and that these seasons of mercy may, and probably will become more and more extended, and with fewer and shorter intervals between them, as the time approaches, when "all men shall know the Lord from the least unto the greatest."

But it may perhaps be asked, If the foregoing views be correct, why are not revivals experienced in every part of the christian church, and among all denominations of christians alike? Why are some portions of the church scarcely favored with these seasons of refreshing at all, and some entire denominations of christians almost wholly passed by? A satisfactory solution of these difficulties, we think may easily be found, and the facts alledged be rationally and fully accounted for, without impugning the general theory of revivals as maintained in these pages. Let the following things be candidly weighed.

It is a well known fact, that in certain portions of the church, and among certain classes of professed christians, as for example, in the established church of Great Britain, and to some extent in the Episcopal communion in this country, revivals are looked upon with a suspicious, if not with an unfriendly eye. By many they are not well understood, and owing to this fact are not favored. By many, through the influence of false reports respecting them, they are directly discountenanced and opposed. Fears are entertained of any and all popular excitement, even on the subject of religion. The danger of delusion and of an over-heated zeal is dreaded more than the calm and quiet of an unbroken apathy in sin. And a much smaller number of accessions to the church, without excitement, is preferred to the introduction of a large number with the supposed danger attending such excitement. Surely where these feelings extensively prevail, respecting the danger of excitement in religion, it cannot be a matter of surprise that *there* no extended and powerful revival should exist. For there the means ordinarily essential to their existence will not be used, but on the contrary, will be carefully avoided. And if at any time, symptoms should be discovered, of the public mind becoming more than usually interested on the subject of religion, efforts would there be made to guard against the incipient and dreaded evil.

Who can reasonably wonder, that in such circumstances, there should be no revivals? Would it not rather be strange if the fact were otherwise?

Again. Where the proper theory of revivals is not wholly discarded, but where some sort of belief in them is maintained, it may nevertheless be true, that those doctrines of the bible are not preached which are adapted to promote revivals. Those doctrines, it may be, are not preached which go to alarm the sinner's fears of coming wrath. Those doctrines, it may be, are not preached, which go to make the sinner feel that his sinfulness is wholly his own, and wholly an uncoerced and voluntary thing, and that for it he alone is responsible. It may be true, that in some congregations, the sinner is not accustomed to have the naked claims of God's law brought out, and laid upon his conscience, just as if it was expected he would feel these claims, and feel them now, and be made unhappy by them, till he was willing to abandon forever his present course of life. It may be that the sinner, on the contrary, is accustomed to hear from his minister such representations of sin, as lead him to feel, that it is a physical unavoidable calamity; or that every time he dares to sin against God, he does so because he has not the power to choose otherwise, but is necessitated to do just as he does. It may be, that the notion of dependence for holiness on the Spirit of God, which the sinner has imbibed, is such, that he feels quite passive, and pretty much at rest, in respect to the question of his conversion to God, *that* being a work in which he himself has little or nothing to do (as he supposes) until he is first wrought upon by the Holy Spirit, and consequently, that until such a time he allowably may and in fact must wait and put forth no effort towards his salvation. He may, also, have such views of the sovereignty of God, in giving the Holy Spirit, as shall effectually hinder (instead of encouraging) all effort to gain eternal life. In these, and other respects, the truth of God, it is perfectly plain, may be so loosely or erroneously exhibited, that its point and power, as addressed to the sinner's understanding and conscience, shall be very much enfeebled, if not wholly destroyed. And in such a state of things, with the dictates of men's common sense disregarded, and their consciences but little if at all pressed up to duty, it surely becomes no very inexplicable fact, that revivals are not enjoyed. It is by means of the truth, plain, pungent, right home to the understandings and consciences of men, that revivals are brought about. But what if such truth is not presented and enforced, ought we to be surprised if its appropriate effects should be

wanting, and stupidity should reign, and the quiet peacefulness of death should be upon the churches?

Besides, the whole *system* of religious instruction may be, in given cases, vitally defective. We should not expect revivals, for example, where Universalism or Socinianism was taught. Because, in either case, the system of instruction would be vitally bad, having not only no tendency to convert sinners, but having just the opposite tendency, to quiet them in sin. The same may be said, as being in a degree true, of that system of religious instruction which proceeds upon the ground, that the sinner is something less than totally depraved, in the original moral temper and bias of his soul; or that which takes it for granted, that all men are not wholly dependent upon God for holiness, owing to their own wicked and voluntary perverseness; or that which assumes, that for a portion of mankind, no atonement has been provided. The systems of teaching which proceed upon these latter assumptions, may not be vitally and essentially bad, nor do we consider them, by any means, as standing on the same ground with the preceding errors of Universalism and Socinianism, although we have happened to place them in juxtaposition with those errors; and yet, *in a degree*, they may resemble those greater and more deadly errors, as it respects their want of power upon the sinner's heart and conscience to turn him to God, and their want of adaptedness to produce revivals.

Another thing deserves some notice here. It often happens, that particular portions or classes of nominal christians, who profess not to believe in or to favor revivals, are, nevertheless, unconsciously to themselves, supported and kept alive by them. They would soon slide back into the world, and become identified with it, were it not for revivals. Every revival which occurs in the community around them, puts them upon making more vigorous exertions to build up their own party, or church, or sect; and thus, without favoring revivals, nay, while professedly opposing them, they are indirectly and greatly benefited by them. Indeed, it is seldom the fact, that in a powerful visitation of the Holy Spirit, any denomination of christians in that community where such revival takes place, fails, in some degree, to participate in the blessing, even though at the very time they may be directly and loudly decrying the good work by which they are thus strengthened and blessed. In such cases as these, though a revival in name and form may not be experienced directly among themselves, yet indirectly, and in reality, very many of the blessed fruits of a revival they may and do experience.

There is yet another remark to be made under this topic. Not always is there such a degree of mutual sympathy and co-operation between a minister and his church, in sustaining and carrying on the work of a revival, as there ordinarily must be, in order to the success of that work. It is peculiarly important, that the ministry and the church should work together; that they should see eye to eye; that they should feel, that the cause of Christ among them is a common cause; and that they should sympathize reciprocally and fully in each other's plans and measures for promoting the one grand object, the conversion and salvation of souls. An inert, inefficient church, or a rash, indiscreet, self-willed church, will often defeat the best directed efforts of the wisest and best minister on earth. And the same may be true on the other side; an unfaithful, inefficient, time-serving minister, may hang like a dead weight upon a church, to hold it back, and hinder it from doing any thing effectual in the work of saving souls. There must be a proper co-operation on the part of both; ministers must labor, and churches, in their sphere, must labor also, or else they must not look for any very signal display of the power of God in the conversion of sinners.

How are revivals of religion to be brought about? This is an important inquiry. Doubtless God is a sovereign in this department of his operations, as he also is in every other; but not in such a sense, probably, as to set aside, much less to counteract, the established and known laws of mind, nor to dispense with the use of means. On the contrary, there are certain antecedents to a revival, which are ordinarily as necessary, as the cause in any other case is necessary to the effect. Among these antecedents are the faithful presentation of divine truth to men's consciences; proper discipline in the church; the prayers of christians; and the special influences of the Holy Spirit, leading men to consider and apply the truth, and making the truth effectual as thus considered and applied by them:—The economy of revivals demands, that there should be, first of all, *a faithful presentation of divine truth* to men's consciences. Without this, no revivals are to be expected. Without this, there is no decisive evidence that revivals can exist. The particular truths which are best adapted to this end, are the following: That sin is not a misfortune either in its origin or continuance; not a physical property of the mind, and in that sense unavoidable; but that it is, evermore, a voluntary controversy with God, and with the dictates of an enlightened conscience, presupposing the power of intelligent moral action in

the committers of it, and involving the necessary obligation of immediate repentance ; that the claims of God upon the sinner are all right and reasonable, founded in unalterable fitness and propriety, and lying within the sinner's physical ability to comply with them ; that mercy is offered on terms as low as any heart but the heart of a rebel would desire ; that nothing on his part is required as an antecedent to salvation, but what is in the nature of the case necessary to that end, and to which the sinner can and ought instantly to yield ; that the sinner will not, however, of himself yield to the proposed terms of salvation, but will steadfastly decline salvation on those terms ; that the interposition of the Spirit is necessary, and why necessary ; the uncertainty, to us, whether the sinner is ever saved, and the ground of this uncertainty ; the fullness and freeness of the provision made for him in the gospel ; his own perverseness, voluntary, but deep-rooted and fixed, the grand difficulty in the way of his being saved ; his consequent danger, notwithstanding an atonement has been provided for him ; and the justice of God in his final and everlasting punishment. These truths, faithfully presented and often reiterated, are adapted to make their way to the sinner's heart, and will seldom be preached in vain, especially when they are preached with a full conviction of their reality, and under a just sense of their amazing importance.

Yet truth alone, as exhibited from the pulpit, and with whatever degree of faithfulness it be set forth, will not effect the object. There are other antecedents to a revival, besides this.

There must be efficient *discipline* in the church. The church is the reflector of divine truth, in its concentrated and burning power, upon the sinner's conscience. This reflector, therefore, must be in such a state, as to throw back, truly and forcibly, the light of which it is designed to be the medium of conveyance to others. The church, in other words, must be kept pure and active, and must let its light shine. Its members must be in such a state, as that the minister of God's truth can point the impenitent sinner to them and say, 'These are my witnesses : see here the fruits of the gospel.' It is of immense importance to the success of a minister's labors, that the state of the church be carefully and thoroughly attended to. Discipline, exact and unintermitted, must be maintained. If the light which is, or should be, in the church, be darkness, how great and portentous is that darkness ! and it will be darkness in any church, without faithful and efficient discipline. Nor is this of itself enough.

There must also be much fervent *prayer* to God, on the part of christians, that he would interpose his mighty aid, and make effectual their efforts in his cause. And then, in addition to the whole, it must be distinctly remembered, that all human agency will prove powerless in this matter, without the special agency of the Holy Spirit. This is our last, our only ultimate reliance. And blessed be God, we may expect the interposition of his almighty aid, whenever the means above spoken of are faithfully used on the part of his children.

But a question of still deeper interest remains: How are revivals, after they have commenced, *to be sustained and carried forward*? How is the natural tendency towards returning apathy in the public mind to be counteracted, and the revival to be continued in progress, after it has begun? So far as means are concerned, as conducing to this end, the following suggestions may not be wholly without their use.

There should be great *simplicity* and *directness* in the presentation of divine truth. The public mind at such a time does not want any thing far-fetched or fine-spun; any thing labored, or recondite, or fanciful; any thing not directly home to the understanding and the conscience. Topics that may be introduced at other times with propriety, may be wholly unsuitable now. The great truths of the bible must be presented with great simplicity, and with as little going round the point, and keeping at a distance from it, as possible. Many a revival has been checked, and prematurely brought to a close, by not pressing plain and solemn truth in a plain and direct manner.

Continuity of effort, on the part of the friends of the revival, is also essentially necessary to the continued progress of the work. There is a constant tendency in an imperfectly sanctified mind, leading that mind to remit proper exertion, or suffer the exertion that is made to become fitful and spasmodic. The minds of christians are apt soon to grow tired, or at least to be less uniformly animated with faith and zeal in their labors, after a revival has been in progress some time, and after the novelty of the scene has worn off, than they were at first. Then, there is danger, that there will be a remission of suitable effort, and thus the work will decline. Besides, there is another respect in which continuity of effort is necessary. Religious meetings should be so arranged, in respect to frequency, and time, and place, as to keep up, and if possible to deepen and extend, the impression made from one meeting to another. There should be no break, no chasm of serious reflection, and of collected and solemn feel-

ing. And the means should be so used as to allow of none. The public mind should be held *continuously*, so far as may be, to the contemplation of the great themes of religion,—only the necessary business of this world being attended to in the mean time, and that too as a concern wholly subordinate to the greater interest, the salvation of the soul.

It is also important to the same end,—of sustaining and keeping up a revival of religion,—that there should be a continued sympathy and co-operation in the work between the pastor and the church. Neither of them can carry on the work alone. Neither of them can carry it on without the cordial and efficient aid of the other. But, uniting together, and keeping united, in counsel and in labor, they are strong: though few in numbers, they are, like Gideon's army, a mighty host. It is farther important to the same end, that all proper pains should be taken to bring the impenitent within the reach of the means of grace. This is always suitable; pre-eminently so in a revival, and with particular reference to a continuance of the revival. It frequently happens, that revivals stop, because most of those who have attended on the means used in these revivals have been converted. The rest stay away, and therefore are not reached. For how can the truth benefit those who will not come to hear it!

Another thing of very great utility in keeping up a revival of religion, is, frequent seasons—whole days—of fasting and prayer, held by the church, to which also the impenitent should be affectionately invited. Nothing in the form of means has such an influence as this. It tends most happily to arrest incipient declension in the church, when such declension has begun, and to bring them up anew to the work; and it is like barbed arrows in the hearts of impenitent sinners. Cases have been known, in which impenitent sinners have been awakened while barely passing the place where such meetings were held, and by their being thus led to reflect on the specific object of such meetings.

One thing more. On suitable occasions, let the converts relate briefly their religious exercises, exhort their impenitent companions, and lead in prayer in social meetings. This should indeed be managed with some caution and skill; but when it is properly managed, it is a legitimate and very powerful auxiliary in extending and carrying forward a work of divine grace. It need not encourage an improper forwardness in the converts, (an objection sometimes made to it.) It is compatible, in them, with the most perfect humility. And it does

lay hold of susceptibilities in the minds of their thoughtless associates and acquaintance, which nothing else will. The first converts from Judaism and paganism to christianity, were made use of, by the Spirit of God, in producing and multiplying accessions, at that period, to the christian church. Why should not the same means be employed now? And if judiciously employed, what stronger objection lies against them now than then?

But, when we *have* used every means in our power, and taken every possible precaution to prevent a revival from declining at length and coming to a close, shall we of course have gained our point? Can revivals be made to continue on indefinitely; or must they, by and by cease? This question demands a moment's consideration. There is, doubtless, a sense in which revivals, after they have been in progress for a season, may be expected to decline, and probably will decline; perhaps, *must* decline. They will decline in respect to the degree of vividness and force with which truth will blaze upon the mind and get hold of the feelings of the heart. As man is now constituted, and amid the objects by which he is now surrounded, perhaps it is not possible, that the mind should have, for any great length of time together, those vivid and impressive views of spiritual objects, which for a season it may have, and which in a revival of religion it often does have. We are inclined to think, that the laws of mind, as man is in the present world, forbid it. In this sense, then, it may be expected, that revivals will, perhaps in some degree they *must*, decline. They may be expected to decline, also, in regard to the *number* of minds simultaneously affected by them. There will be a season during which the number of those who are anxious will increase, but that number will, after a while, reach its highest point and begin to decline, and then the revival in this respect will be at stand, or begin to decline. And this, we believe, to be a result which no human skill or power in the use of means can prevent. In respect also to the number and frequency of conversions, and the number of those who attend the special religious meetings, as well as in respect to the intensity of feeling, and the power of sympathetic action between mind and mind, there will be sooner or later a decline. We see no evidence to believe, that in any of these respects, revivals can be prevented from declining after a season; or in other words, that they can be made perpetual, by any power or wisdom in the ministry or church, however well directed the labors of the ministry and the church may be towards that end. The very nature of a revival seems to require, that there should be, at times, a higher

tone of religious feeling in a community, than there is at other times, in the same community ; and yet, there is a sense in which revivals need not decline. They need not decline in respect to the habitually controlling influence of settled religious principle in the hearts of christians. The principle of complacency in the character and government of God, and of true obedience to the will of God, on the part of christians, may become so settled and fixed in their minds, as to exert a steady uniform influence over them. Even when there is little excited religious emotion in their minds, there may be the steadfastness and the energy of christian principle, always, and much of the time unconsciously to themselves, carrying them forward in a regular and undeviating course of obedience to God. This principle may be and should be, gaining fresh strength and activity continually, even in the intervals between revivals, when the word revival is understood in the common technical acceptation of the term. We do not think, that the christian has any excuse at any time or under any circumstances, for suffering a decline in this respect to take place in his piety: christian principle within him, may and should be always triumphant, and always waxing stronger and stronger, although excited religious emotion may and will have its alternations of comparative strength and weakness in his soul. What is true of individual christians in this particular is equally true of churches or bodies of christians. A revival, then, in the common acceptation of the term, may and will decline and stop, but the growth of christians in holiness, need never and should never cease. Their falling back into comparative stupidity and worldliness, after a revival is over, is wholly needless, and wholly without excuse.

Still, it cannot be disguised, that in point of fact, there often is a very undesirable *re-action* succeeding revivals ;—a re-action not only in respect to the community as such, in which the revival had taken place, but in respect to christians themselves. They become, in common with others, remiss in duty, and swallowed up in the world ; and sometimes it seems as if a deeper spirit of slumber afterwards settled down upon a people, in consequence of the temporary wakefulness and anxiety in the public mind which had preceded it. How may such a result be prevented from occurring ?

Without entering at large into the field which is opened by this inquiry, we may be permitted just to state, in passing, that one thing tending to prevent an unfavorable re-action after a revival, is, that the fruits of the revival be gathered into the church at the *proper time* for doing so. Too great precipi-

tancy should be avoided on the one hand, and unreasonable delay on the other. The practice of bringing converts into the church, at once, as soon as they express hope, will generally be found to be, upon the whole, inexpedient and of injurious tendency. It will have this effect ; it will bring numbers into the church without piety, and without the common evidences of piety. For, they being admitted into the church as soon as they express hope or very shortly after, there is no time given them in which to exhibit the evidences of piety. At the same time they may be persons of such previous habits, that nothing short of such a trial of them as *time* furnishes, can ever constitute satisfactory evidence in their favor. There is danger also from running into the opposite extreme and putting the converts off too long before they are received into the visible church, till they themselves begin to doubt, whether their change of character is a saving change, and to feel unprepared and unwilling to come forward and connect themselves by profession with the people of God. This, equally with the former error, may re-act unfavorably upon the cause of religion after a revival. Both of these extremes should be avoided. No determinate length of time, probably, can be fixed upon, during which the candidates shall be considered as on probation, and which shall be applicable to all cases. We would say, however, in respect to the great majority of cases, from two to four and six months might be a proper length of time for this purpose. But whether this be in general the proper term of trial or not, we do earnestly protest against the practice of receiving persons to the communion of the church without some time of previous trial, longer or shorter. Also, let the converts be taught that true piety does not consist, exclusively, in high-wrought frames of feeling. But that it consists, rather, in a fixed choice and purpose of heart to serve God ; in a settled principle of obedience to his will ; and that religion has no root in the soul, which will endure in the hour of temptation, if this characteristic of it be wanting. Religion, let them be taught, may involve feeling, and much deep, strong feeling ; it may awaken emotions in the soul of the most powerful kind, and ordinarily it will be attended with much peace and joy ; but this is not the *whole* of true religion ; there is something back of this ; there is the solemn, calm, deliberate purpose of mind, to go forward, through good report and evil report, with comfort or without comfort, to do the will of God, and seek his glory, come what will as the consequence. Men who set out in religion with such views as these, will not be very likely to fall back again, and bring re-

proach upon the cause of Christ. They will hold out unto the end ; and their path will shine more and more unto the perfect day. Moreover, it would have a happy influence towards the same end, if the converts, both before and after their entering the church, could be in some mode instructed and trained for the work before them, as a sort of catechumens, under the peculiar watch and care of the pastor and the older and more experienced members of the flock. They are too soon lost sight of, as the objects of any special care or supervision. This prepares the way for many grievous backslidings after a revival.

One thing more. Let the church be distinctly and fully apprized of the *danger* which exists on this subject. Let them be taught to apprehend some re-action, and to watch and guard against it. The evil, in general, commences with themselves. The strongest guard is to be placed over their own hearts. Proper vigilance at this point will go far towards remedying the whole difficulty.

How shall *opposition* to a revival be met and its evil effects be obviated ? It is well known, that wicked men hate religion ; and such men there are scattered throughout all our parishes. Religion as exhibited in revivals, they peculiarly hate ; because, it is in revivals, that religion is presented to their minds with peculiar vividness and power. Then, the truth stings, and wounds, and irritates, as it does not at other times. Now how shall the opposition of wicked men to revivals be met ? We answer, Let it entirely alone ; take no notice of it ; go right on with the good work. Unopposed opposition will soon die away, or will defeat its own ends. Is it alledged, against the revival, that persons will lose their health, or lose their reason by it ? that there is a needless waste of time in attending on so many religious meetings ? that religious subjects are kept too constantly before the mind ? that men's worldly business is too much neglected ? that, after all, revivals are only the work of man ? The best way to dispose of such charges is, to take no notice of them, unless it be to pray and live them down, and to shew the authors and propagators of them, in your whole temper and deportment, an invincible love for their souls. This will be heaping coals of fire on their heads with a witness.

Whatever form the opposition may take, meet it as Nehemiah did : " I am doing a great work and cannot come down ; why should the work cease while I come down to you." In *extreme* cases, it may possibly be needful to meet opposers in the field of argument, and to reason and expostulate with them. But in general, silence, kindness, humility, prayer, are the best

weapons with which to contend against them. We have never known much gained in a revival by disputing with avowed opposers. Loss of temper, loss of time, and the loss of men's souls, are the usual consequences.

On the expediency of introducing *foreign* aid in the management of revivals, we wish to add a word. We do not believe, that a church, which is supplied with a pastor in whom they have confidence, and who is ready and able to serve them, needs ordinarily to have any aid brought in from abroad to help on a revival among them. If aid is introduced from abroad, to any such extent as to become a ground of reliance, or to operate in producing a diminished sense of responsibility, on the part of the church and the stated ministry, we believe the effect is decidedly bad; the revival is hindered rather than promoted by it. There are obvious reasons for this belief. The great secret of sustaining a revival of religion, under God, is, that the church and the minister feel, that to carry on the work devolves on them; not on another, but on *themselves*. And as long as this feeling is kept up, and they see souls around them perishing in their sins, they will pray, they will labor, for their conversion. But as soon as they begin to feel, that this work is taken out of their hands by another, and that they are released in a measure from the labor and the responsibility connected with it, and that they may go and look on in the capacity of inactive and idle spectators, that moment the mighty pressure which had previously lain upon their hearts is taken off; the stimulus to exertion is gone; and they do not, they can not feel, the same engagedness of soul, or disposition to work for Christ, which they would feel, if the burden of responsibility lay, where it should lie, upon themselves, and if they felt it lying there. This is not saying, that aid from abroad, in a revival, is never useful. We know the contrary is often true. But it is saying, that no such aid from abroad is useful, as tends to release the church and the stated ministry of the gospel from a full, undivided sense of responsibility, or as sets aside their earnest, active, personal endeavors to carry on the revival. And such, usually, is the tendency of introducing help from abroad, and of placing reliance upon it. If the church and minister will come up to the work and do their duty, let them, we say, have the work to themselves; let the labor and the responsibility be undivided; and they will have, as the consequence, a more abundant and glorious reward in the fruit of their labors. But if a church and minister will *not* labor and pray without assistance from abroad; if they *must* have such

assistance in order to do any thing themselves ; why then let them send, if they will, for some itinerant revival-preacher, some unsettled, supernumerary, roving helper in the work of waking up slumbering churches, and let them devolve the task, which they ought to do themselves, upon *his* hands. There may be a propriety in it. Better so, than that the wise and the foolish should slumber on, and both perish together. We are supposing, however, a different case. We are supposing, that the pastor and his people *are* willing to go forward and labor jointly and faithfully for God and for the good of souls. In this case, we say, they need no foreign aid. They are competent to perform all that needs to be done, all that human agency can do in such a work, and the less of foreign aid, in such a case, the better.

And here, indeed, we cannot but admire the happy manner in which the Lord Jesus Christ has constituted his churches, and the peculiar adaptation of Congregationalism to compass the ends for which local churches are gathered. The great desideratum, when local churches were first organized, seemed to be, to select such an organization as would be best adapted to perpetuate and diffuse christianity among men. At least, this must have been a commanding object in the early gathering of the converts into churches. Something more was needful, than the personal religious comfort, and safety, and growth in grace, of these converts themselves. They were, also, to be the means of perpetuating and extending among men the true religion ; and that, too, in opposition to very many and very powerful tendencies, in the existing institutions of that day, to root out the infant cause of Christ from the earth. They were to contain in themselves, under God, the principle of self-protection and self-propagation. They were to be the leaven which should change, by a silent but powerful process of moral assimilation, the whole mass. Now our proposition is, that every separate distinct church is most happily formed for this important end, and is directly calculated to subserve this design. This is especially true of churches organized on Congregational principles, that is, of churches who hold themselves to be competent to manage their own affairs, without any foreign interference whatever. Where a pastor and church are united and happy in each other, mutually enjoying each other's confidence, and prepared to labor together for the good of souls, and not feeling, that they must rely on extraneous aid, in seeking to promote revivals, and in bringing about the conversion of sinners to God, we do not know what happier instrumentality could have been devised and put in operation to secure the end

in view. And we cannot but admire the wisdom and goodness of God evinced in such an organization of the church. What a blessed spectacle for the eye of christian benevolence to rest upon, is a church thus constituted, with its officers and its members, each and all in their appropriate sphere, harmoniously acting together, in the midst of an extended revival of religion! Their knowledge of each other; their knowledge of the community around them; their perfect conviction, that they have a character at stake on what they do, in the eyes of that community; their consequent sense of responsibility for the measures they employ; their identity of interests, not only among themselves, but with the interests of the population generally, among whom they dwell; the fact, too, that many of that population are their own kindred and friends, in whose welfare they cannot but feel a livelier interest than any mere stranger, whatever excellence of character he possessed, could be supposed to feel; let these, and other things of a like kind, be duly considered, and the happy organization of our Congregational churches, with reference to the most efficient promotion of the interests of religion around them, cannot but be seen, and churches and ministers will feel little disposition, we think, to rely upon external aid in revivals of religion, or to go very far to obtain it.

ART. IV.—DATE OF THE APOCALYPSE.

BIBLICAL critics have been much divided in their opinions as to the true date of the Apocalypse. Its origin some* have traced back as early as to the reign of the Emperor Claudius, A. D. 41—54. Others† have put it in the time of Nero, A. D. 54—68. It has also been referred to the reign of Galba,‡ or the period between Nero and Vespasian, to that of Vespasian,§ of Titus, and of Domitian.

The importance of ascertaining the date arises from its bearing on the interpretation of certain of the prophetic portions of the book, more especially those which are supposed by some to relate to the destruction of Jerusalem. If the composition of

* Epiphanius, Grotius.

† Subscription to the Syriac version of the Apoc. Theophylact, Arethas, Andreas.

‡ Lücke.

§ Eichhorn.

the book were fairly ascertained to have been posterior to that event, it might seem, that such an application were out of the question.

The data for solving the problem, are, 1, historical testimony ; and, 2, internal evidence.

The bold opinion has, indeed, been advanced, and zealously supported, that all historical evidence seeming to bear on the point, being, as it is maintained, exclusively derived from the book itself, can have no authority in the case, except so far as its results fall in with the conclusions drawn from the internal evidence. In such a case there would be some little force derived from the consideration, that both ancient and modern interpreters had been harmonious in their mode of explanation. This would be all the weight which, in any case, could be accorded to all the historical evidence that can be furnished on the point in question.*

But it is obvious, that this opinion can never rise higher than a mere hypothesis, since its correctness, from the very nature of the case, does not admit of demonstration ; and it is very difficult to believe, especially with no other evidence than that the supposition is not demonstrably inconsistent with other historic facts, that the early fathers, who speak of this book, and assign it its date, should never have met with any other sources of information respecting it but the book itself. Irenæus, and it is his testimony, chiefly, which this device is framed to set aside, was the pupil of Polycarp, who was himself a pupil of John. Irenæus, moreover, was educated in the bosom of the seven churches to which the Apocalyptic epistles were more directly addressed. Is it for a moment supposable, now, that Irenæus should never have received any trustworthy information, save from the Apocalypse itself, of the apostle John ; of his banishment to Patmos ; of the events which befell him while there, so remarkable in themselves, of such momentous interest to christianity ? None of that wonderful book itself, of its author, its origin, its date ?

The defenders of this hypothesis, evidently the offspring of attachment to theory, are certainly reduced to this rather unpleasant dilemma.—Either Irenæus and Origen, with the other ancient critics who receive their opinions on this subject, no very despicable names, have found enough in the Apocalypse itself to warrant their opinion, and consequently the au-

* Lücke, Versuch einer vollständigen Einleitung in die Offenbarung Johannis, c. v. §44.

thors of this hypothesis have all the critical authority of these eminent names against them ; or these fathers were possessed of other sources of information, and so the hypothesis falls to the ground. The probability in the matter is, that they had traditionary, and perhaps other external evidence on the point, and, also, that the contents of the book itself, in their view, confirmed this evidence.

I. The *historical* data, are,

1. The testimony of Irenæus. Speaking of the Revelation, he says, "it was seen not a long time ago, but almost in our own times, towards the close of the reign of Domitian."*

2. Clement of Alexandria. His testimony goes only to confirm the current tradition, that John was in exile in Patmos, and at the death of the emperor who banished him, returned to Ephesus. He says, "at the death of the tyrant he went from the island of Patmos to Ephesus."† He does not indeed mention the name of the emperor, but it is evident, that he has the common tradition in his mind ; and Eusebius expressly says he refers to Domitian.

3. Origen says, a king of the Romans, according to tradition, exiled John to Patmos, and that John there saw the Revelation.‡

4. Eusebius says expressly, that John was in exile on Patmos, in the fourteenth year of Domitian, (A. D. 95,) and while there received the Revelation.||

5. Epiphanius places the origin of the Apocalypse in the reign of the Emperor Claudius. But his authority is very small in any case. He is an ignorant writer, and speaks very confusedly.

6. The Syriac translation. The subscription to this dates it during the reign of Nero. But there is reason to doubt whether this version, to which this subscription is appended, was made at an earlier period than the sixth century. Theophylact, and the younger Hippolytus, give the Apocalypse the same date.

This, we believe, to be all the *historical* evidence of account in the case. As it is presented, it appears somewhat contradictory ; yet trusting exclusively to this, no one can hesitate where

* Adv. Haer. 5, 30. The interpretation referring the verb in this passage, *εωφάθη*, was seen, for its subject to the name of the Emperor supposed to be alluded to in the prophecy which Irenæus is here elucidating, and that referring it to John, are ably and conclusively refuted by Hug in his Introduction, P. 11. § 190, and by Dr. Woodhouse, in his *Apocalypse Vindicated*, c. 2.

† Euseb. 3, 23.

‡ In Matth. Opp. 3, 720. Ed. de la Rue.

|| Chron. 1. 38.

to place the probability. All the earliest testimony,—all, indeed, of any moment, goes to fix the date of the Apocalypse near the end of the reign of Domitian, about A. D. 96.

II. The *internal* evidence may be distributed into three divisions, as it is found,

1. In the dialect :
2. In the historical allusions : and,
3. In the prophetic representations of the Apocalypse.

1. All reasonings from the dialect are based on the notion, that the Apostle John is the common author of the gospel and epistles bearing his name, and of the Apocalypse. But this itself, is, as much a matter of dispute as the time of the composition. The argument, too, admitting that John the apostle was the author is very inconclusive. Perhaps nothing can evince this better than the fact, that different critics of great name have, from the same premises, arrived at directly opposite conclusions.*

2. The evidence from the historical allusions in the Apocalypse is found in the direct and positive assertions and clear implications relating to time, which it contains.

It is expressly stated, that the author, whether the apostle or some other John, was in Patmos. *Εγὼ Ἰωάννης—ἐγερόμην ἐν τῇ νησὶ τῇ καλουμένῃ Πάτμῳ.* c. 1. "I, John, *was* in the island which is called Patmos."

It can hardly be supposed, that this, which so much resembles honest statement of fact, is after all, mere poetic fiction. Certainly if it be an attempt at poetic ornament, it is a most unhappy failure, and, therefore, the suggestion comes with a very ill grace from those who see so much poetic beauty in the Apocalypse. If, then, it be a simple statement of fact, no mysticism nor poetic fiction, we may lawfully conclude, that at the time of writing, the abode of the author in Patmos, was a past event ; that he had already left the Island.

But when and why was he on Patmos ? He only tells us, that as a partaker with the saints of that time in the common sufferings he was in the island called Patmos, "for the word of God and for the testimony of Jesus Christ." Why should the zealous and devoted apostle John be in Patmos, that small, barren, desolate island, "for the word of God ?" Not surely to preach it, not again to receive communications from God. For, if so, when his mind was turned upon the design of his being there, he would, doubtless have stated the simple fact.

* See for illustration the reasonings of Guericke and Lücke, on this point.

If as a companion in tribulation with the persecuted disciples of Christ, and also for the word of God, we must suppose it was as an unwilling exile, torn away by the strong hand of violence from the scene of his labors for Christ, and by stern, relentless persecution, consigned to solitude and hopeless labors on a desolate island. We should never have dreamed of any other influence being possible, had not critics of a respectable name gravely and dogmatically pronounced, that whether John was in Patmos of free-will or of force, is a matter of entire uncertainty.*

Here then is a historical allusion to scenes of persecution. When did these occur? History replies, under Nero and Domitian. But the Neronian persecution does not appear to have spread into the provinces to any extent. The only account we have of this persecution is from Tacitus, who ascribes it to a merely local cause, the burning of Rome, falsely imputed to christians, from which we should infer, that the persecution itself was very limited, and from Tertullian, who says, that Nero was the first of the emperors who "drew the sword" against the christians.†

Our readers will at once observe, that all this falls in exactly with the predominant external evidence already presented. Indeed so exact is the agreement, that some critics have on this very basis, alone rested the hypothesis, that the ancient fathers derived all their knowledge of the matter, exclusively from the Apocalypse itself, and hence have argued that their testimony is without weight, except so far as they were skillful critics; and in this respect they are to rank far below modern commentators, since exegesis has assumed a more perfect form since their time and is more to be relied on in its conclusions.

We might add in confirmation of the supposition, that persecution was the cause of John's being in Patmos, the further historical allusions in the Apocalypse to the prevailing persecutions at the time. The epistles to the churches imply a state of bitter hostility towards all of the christian name, which was manifested in severe and cruel persecutions. These persecutions would seem to have been of a type which answers only to the persecutions under Domitian. This, it will be remarked, not only confirms our belief, that John was exiled to Patmos, but also strengthens the proof of the Domitian age of the Apocalypse.

* Lücke, Einleit. c. 5, § 44.

† Vide Murdock's note to his translation of Mosheim, vol 1. pp. 168, 169.

It appears, moreover, from the epistles to the seven churches, that christianity had existed for a considerable period in that region. If we suppose that Paul's visit to Ephesus, recorded in Acts xix., was the epoch of the first establishment of the gospel in that part of Asia Minor, and that this took place in the year 58, then to the death of Nero, or the reign of Galba, A. D. 68, would be a period of ten years, and to the death of Domitian, A. D. 96, thirty two years. If now, we suppose, that the Apocalypse was written at one or the other of these periods, then the changes which are represented to have taken place in the state of religion in these churches, must have transpired within these intervals—in ten years, on the supposition, that it was written under Galba, or in thirty-two years, if written about the time of Domitian's death. In that time, the church of Ephesus had left its first love, Rev. 2: 4; had experienced the rise among them, of a sect of heretics, literally or symbolically represented under the name of the Nicolaitans, Rev. 2: 6, a sect which had also arisen to molest and mar the Pergamite church, Rev. 2: 14, 15; this church at Pergamos had suffered a bloody persecution in which Antipas a real or typical character had suffered martyrdom, Rev. 2: 13; the church of Thyatira had also suffered from heretics, represented under the name of Jezebel, Rev. 2: 30; the church at Sardis had declined into a state of spiritual death, Rev. 3: 1; the Philadelphian church had proved their steadfastness and christian patience under severe and sufficiently protracted trials, Rev. 3: 10; the Laodicean church had degenerated into a state of indifference and stupidity through the influence of great worldly prosperity, Rev. 3: 15—17; and all these churches had become finally established and well organized, under pastors or bishops. Now a period of ten years would hardly suffer for all these changes. A third of a century might barely answer.

The opinion of Epiphanius, who dates back the Apocalypse to the time of Claudius, A. D. 54, is utterly irreconcilable with these representations.

Moreover, we are told by Tacitus, "that in the same year," the year of Nero's fourth consulship with Cornelius Cossus, or A. D. 61, "Laodicea, having been overthrown by an earthquake, restored itself by its own resources with no help from us," i. e. from Rome.* It is not supposable, that this could have taken place, and the Laodicean christians, over and above, acquired so great riches in the short space of seven years, which

* Ann. 14, 27.

is the interval between the time of this earthquake and the death of Nero ; neither can we suppose, that such heavy judgments of God if so recent would not have been alluded to in the epistle to that church. This consideration bears against both hypotheses referring the Apocalypse, the one to the reign of Nero, and the other to that of Galba.

This is the proper place to notice one other supposed source of evidence in the case. It is the representations in the Apocalypse of the near approach of the fulfillment of these prophecies ; in other words, of the second coming of Christ, and of the judgment, c. 1. 13: 22. 6. seq. As to the force of this it may be observed, that it is sufficient for the fair interpretation of the passages cited, to say, that they merely represent the incipient, not the consummated fulfillment as at hand. To make them bear on the point in question as intended, it is necessary to assume, that these passages refer to the destruction of Jerusalem. Now this is mere assumption. It is an assumption too, which contradicts all reasonable interpretation of the Apocalypse. For it confines the whole series of visions within the bounds of that small interval of time, from the date of the Apocalypse, till the destruction of Jerusalem. According, to this view, and it is pertinent to remark that it is directly at war with other views of the critics who advance it, there is no allusion in the whole book of Revelation to any event posterior in point of time to the sacking of the holy city by Titus. And yet this element, in the opinion of one learned critic,* decisively limits the time of writing the Apocalypse, so that it cannot be later than the time of Vespasian.

3. We come next to the chronological references in the more strictly apocalyptic part of the book. And here we feel we are treading on uncertain ground. Here every conclusion not confirmed by other evidence, must be regarded with extreme jealousy and distrust. Yet it is just here whence has arisen all the diversity of opinions about the date of the Apocalypse. The support of some theory of interpretation in regard to this part of the book, has given birth to all, or nearly all, the disputes on this point. Critics have formed their theory of explanation and application, and to that have afterwards striven to bend all other more trustworthy evidence ; exactly reversing the safe and just order of proceeding.

The data here, are,

(1.) The so thought pre-supposed persecutions under Nero, in c. 6. v. 9 ; 17: 6 ; 18: 20. But it is assumed here, that these

* Lücke, *Einleitung*, c. V. § 44, ad fin.

passages have reference to the past, whereas every principle of interpretation requires us to refer them to the future. This is most unquestionably true of the two last ; and the first may apply as well to the first or second Jewish, as to any Roman persecution.

(2.) It is maintained, that chapters 11 and 12 imply the continued existence of Jerusalem. Our limits forbid our going into an extended exegesis of this, and indeed of the other passages concerned in the question. We can only say of this interpretation, therefore, that it interrupts the series of events thus to refer the prophecy to existing circumstances ; and makes the prophetic element of time in the passage, the forty-two months, void of meaning, or contradictory to known facts.

(3.) The passage in chapter 17, is supposed to fix definitely the time of the composition. The part most relied upon, although not independently of the connection, is that contained in verses 9—13. "The seven heads are seven mountains, on which the woman sitteth. And there are seven kings ; five are fallen, and one is and the other is not yet come ; and when he cometh he must continue a short space. And the beast that was, and is not, even he is the eighth, and is of the seven, and goeth into perdition. And the ten horns which thou sawest are ten kings, which have received no kingdom as yet ; but receive power as kings one hour with the beast. These have one mind, and shall give their power and strength unto the beast." The mode of applying this as evidence on the point in question is as follows : The woman on the beast represents Rome. The seven hills, which are seven kings, and the ten horns, which are also ten kings, cannot both refer to the same thing, i. e. to the number of sovereigns in Rome. Suppose that the latter symbol, the horns, does ; and the circumstance of the hills being called kings, is merely to characterize the hills. That is, they are kingly, princely hills. Now the description of these horns implies, that their authority was assumed ; that they hate the woman ; that is, disregard the interests of the city, merely consulting their own ; that they make her desolate and naked ; they eat her flesh and burn her with fire, or put to death her citizens ; plunder her coffers, and, at last, as did Nero, burn her with fire. That five of her seven kings, which are so many magnificent hills, according to this view, are fallen, and one is and the other is not yet come ; and that the eighth is the beast that was and is not. All this merely pictures the condition of Rome, as not yet having reached its acme in external greatness, but nevertheless wasting away in

its internal strength. So, according to this view, there had been ten Cæsars when the revelation was seen, the last of whom was Titus. Policy, or christian principle, it is surmised, forbade the prophet from speaking any thing of Domitian, for he could say nothing truly but evil; and, therefore, it is concluded, the visions were seen under Domitian, and the book written soon after, say by the first year of Nerva*. This is one method of applying the passage.

Another, perhaps equally specious, takes the tenth verse for its clue to the interpretation of the whole. "There are seven kings; five are fallen and one is, and the other has not yet come." This view makes five emperors to have reigned at the time of seeing the revelations, the last of whom was Nero. Of course Galba was the reigning emperor at the time; "the king that is." Or perhaps the reigns of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, were so short, and they themselves were so unsettled in their imperial authority, that they are passed over in the enumeration, and so "the king that is," will be Vespasian. Titus would then be the seventh, "who is not yet come," and "the beast" would be Domitian; the justification of which uncourtly appellative, as applied to him, may be found in his savage barbarities and cruel persecutions against the christians; his low vices and brutal disposition.†

Now what renders this, as indeed all the supposed evidence under this class, entirely indecisive as to the point in question, is, that the point of time at which the events are supposed to be witnessed by the seer, may be either anterior or posterior to their occurrence, or even contemporaneous with them. The very nature of the work authorizes and requires a representation of past and future events as present realities. The time of view has no reference whatever in the strictly apocalyptic part of the book, to the time of the occurrences revealed. The only use of any designations of time in the account itself, is to determine the chronological order and relations of the events that are revealed, considered in respect to themselves. In other words, the temporal designations, in the strict Apocalypse, which are confined to the apocalyptic events themselves, cannot serve at all to connect these events with the time of seeing the revelations. They constitute a link between those events; none at all between those and the chronological position of John. So that all attempts to deduce from the chronological allusions, in the strictly apocalyptic part of the book, any conclusions as

* Hug, Int. p. ii. §190.

† Lücke, ubi sup.

to the time of the composition, are necessarily futile. It seems hardly necessary to say here, for the prevention of misunderstanding, that these observations are not intended to preclude any effort to ascertain the time of John from the events he has represented in the Apocalypse, *after* the order and time of these events is fairly settled on correct principles of interpretation. Doubtless some very general notions may be formed of the time of the author from the character of the descriptions, but nothing specific enough to touch the present question; and even this only from the relation of the events themselves, and not from the designations of time in the language which represents them. No one will suppose, either, that in these remarks we mean to deny all historical references in any part of the Apocalypse. Our observations are confined to the strictly apocalyptic part.

But even admitting the propriety of referring the tenses in the apocalyptic representations, directly to the circumstances of the writer, or of supposing, that when he uses the present tense, he means to speak of realities existing at the moment he was in the vision, or was composing; still, until more harmony is attained in the interpretation of the book, little reliance can be placed on any reasonings from this source, as settling the time of the composition.

These we believe to be the principal data relied on for fixing the date of the Apocalypse. We trust, that we do but utter the thoughts of our readers, while we give the following as the results of our investigations:—

The theory of Epiphanius, which assigns the Apocalypse to the time of Claudius, rests on no historical basis, is opposed by the historical facts, that there has been no persecutions such as are implied in the apocalyptic epistles, and that the churches had been established for a length of time sufficient to allow of the changes implied in those epistles.

The theory which refers the time of the Apocalypse to the reign of Nero, has no external evidence to rest upon, but the subscription to the Syriac version of the sixth century, and the opinion of some comparatively late writers, as Theophylact, and Hippolytus. It is opposed by all the internal evidence in the case.

That which dates it at the time of Galba, has nothing but the weakness of internal evidence to rest upon, and is obnoxious to the objections which attend the preceding theories.

The only remaining opinion which has gained any prevalence, is that which dates the Apocalypse about the time of Domitian.

mitian's death. This opinion is supported by all the historical evidence of weight, which is by no means small, and in most cases would be deemed perfectly conclusive,—is sustained also by all the internal evidence, and is opposed by none worthy of regard.

We fix the date of the Apocalypse, then, in the year A. D. 96 or 97.

ART. V.—THE JOURNEYINGS OF PAUL.

IN perusing the Acts of the Apostles, or investigating the order of the Pauline Epistles, it is convenient and useful to have before one a table of the journeyings of Paul. This circumstance has led to the formation of the following table, which exhibits the outlines of the life of this apostle. When it is considered, that the ease with which each epistle finds its exact place in the life of the apostle, is the principal evidence of their genuineness as a whole, the understanding of the chronological order of these events becomes very important.

I. *Early History of Paul.*

1. Born at Tarsus, in Cilicia. Acts 21 : 39 ; 22 : 3.
2. Educated at Jerusalem, under Gamaliel. Acts 22 : 3.
3. Present at Jerusalem at the death of Stephen. Acts 7 : 58.
4. Christ appears to him, on his way to Damascus. Acts 9 : 3, 27. Gal. 1 : 12. Acts 26 : 13.
5. At Damascus he receives his sight, through Ananias. Acts 9 : 17, 18.
6. Goes into Arabia. Gal. 1 : 17.
7. Returns again to Damascus. Gal. 1 : 17.
8. Escaping from Damascus, he comes to Jerusalem. (The first visit of Paul to Jerusalem after his conversion.) Acts 9 : 26. Gal. 1 : 18. 2 Cor. 11 : 32, 33.

II. *Tour of Paul into the regions of Syria and Cilicia, mentioned Gal. 1 : 21.*

9. Comes to Cesarea Philippi. Acts 9 : 30.
10. Comes to Tarsus. Acts 9 : 30.
11. Comes to Antioch of Syria. Acts 11 : 25.
12. Comes to Jerusalem. (The second visit of Paul to Jerusalem after his conversion.) Acts 11 : 30 ; 12 : 25. (Comp. Gal. 2 : 1.)

III. *The first tour of Paul into Asia Minor, or his tour into Asia Minor simply.*

13. Returns to Antioch of Syria. Acts 12 : 25.
14. Comes to Seleucia. Acts 13 : 4.
15. Comes to Salamis, in the island of Cyprus. Acts 13 : 5.
16. Comes to Paphos, in the same island. Acts 13 : 6.
17. Comes to Perga in Pamphylia. Acts 13 : 13.
18. Comes to Antioch in Pisidia. Acts 13 : 14.
19. Comes to Iconium in Lycaonia. Acts 13 : 51.
20. Comes to Lystra in Lycaonia. Acts 14 : 6.
21. Comes to Derbe in Lycaonia. Acts 14 : 6, 20.
22. Returns to Lystra in Lycaonia. Acts 14 : 21.
23. Returns to Iconium in Lycaonia. Acts 14 : 21.
24. Returns to Antioch in Pisidia. Acts 14 : 21.
25. Returns to Perga in Pamphylia. Acts 14 : 25.
26. Comes to Attalia in Pamphylia. Acts 14 : 25.
27. Comes to Antioch in Syria. Acts 14 : 26.
28. Passes through Phenicia and Samaria. Acts 15 : 3.
29. Comes to Jerusalem. (The third visit of Paul to Jerusalem after his conversion.) Acts 15 : 4.

IV. The second tour of Paul into Asia Minor, or his first tour into Asia Minor and Europe.

30. Returns to Antioch of Syria. Acts 15 : 30.
31. Passes through Syria and Cilicia. Acts 15 : 41.
32. Comes to Derbe. Acts 16 : 1.
33. Comes to Lystra. Acts 16 : 1.
34. Passes through Phrygia and Galatia. Acts 16 : 6.
35. Comes to Mysia. Acts 16 : 7.
36. Comes to Troas. Acts 16 : 8.
37. Comes to Samothracia. Acts 16 : 11.
38. Comes to Neapolis in Macedonia. Acts 16 : 11.
39. Comes to Philippi. Acts 16 : 12.
40. Comes to Amphipolis. Acts 17 : 1.
41. Comes to Apollonia. Acts 17 : 1.
42. Comes to Thessalonica. Acts 17 : 1.
43. Comes to Berea. Acts 17 : 10.
44. Comes to Athens. Acts 17 : 15.
45. Comes to Corinth. (Writes the two Epistles to the Thessalonians.) Acts 18 : 1.
46. Comes to Cenchrea. Acts 18 : 18.
47. Comes to Ephesus. Acts 18 : 19.
48. Comes to Cesarea Palestinae. Acts 18 : 22.
49. Comes to Antioch. Acts 18 : 22.
50. Comes to Jerusalem. (The fourth visit of Paul to Jerusalem after his conversion.) Acts 18 : 22.

V. The third tour of Paul into Asia Minor, or his second tour into Asia Minor and Europe.

51. Passes through Galatia and Phrygia. Acts 18 : 23.
52. Comes to Ephesus. (Writes the Epistle to the Galatians, and the first to the Corinthians.) Acts 19 : 1.
53. Passes through Macedonia, (whence he writes the second Epistle to the Corinthians ;) and Greece, (whence he writes the Epistle to the Romans.) Acts 20 : 2, 3.
54. Comes to Philippi. Acts 20 : 6.
55. Comes to Troas. Acts 20 : 6.
56. Comes to Assos. Acts 20 : 14.
57. Comes to Mitylene. Acts 20 : 14.
58. Comes to Chios. Acts 20 : 15.
59. Comes to Samos. Acts 20 : 15.
60. Comes to Trogyllium. Acts 20 : 15.
61. Comes to Miletus. Acts 20 : 15.
62. Comes to Coos. Acts 21 : 1.
63. Comes to Rhodes. Acts 21 : 1.
64. Comes to Patara. Acts 21 : 1.
65. Comes in sight of Cyprus. Acts 21 : 3.
66. Comes to Tyre. Acts 21 : 3.
67. Comes to Ptolemais. Acts 21 : 7.
68. Comes to Cesarea Palestinæ. Acts 21 : 8.
69. Comes to Jerusalem. (The fifth visit of Paul to Jerusalem after his conversion.) Acts 21 : 15.

VI. The voyage of Paul to Rome as a prisoner.

70. Comes to Antipatris. Acts 23 : 31.
71. Comes to Cesarea Palestinæ. Acts 23 : 33.
72. Comes to Sidon. Acts 27 : 3.
73. Over against Cyprus. Acts 27 : 4.
74. Comes to Myra in Lycia. Acts 27 : 5.
75. Over against Cnidus. Acts 27 : 7.
76. Over against Salmone. Acts 27 : 7.
77. Comes to the Fair Havens in Crete, near Lasea. Acts 27 : 8.
78. Driven up and down in the Adriatic Sea. Acts 27 : 27.
79. Shipwrecked at Melita. Acts 28 : 1.
80. Comes to Syracuse. Acts 28 : 12.
81. Comes to Rhegium. Acts 28 : 13.
82. Comes to Puteoli. Acts 28 : 13.
83. Comes to Appii Forum. Acts 28 : 15.
84. Comes to the Three Taverns. Acts 28 : 15.
85. Comes to Rome. (Writes the Epistles to the Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon.) Acts 28 : 16.

NOTE.—It is inferred from the Epistles to Timothy and Titus, and confirmed also by ecclesiastical tradition, that Paul was liberated from the confinement mentioned by Luke, and traveling in company with Timothy and Titus, left the former at Ephesus, while he went into Macedonia, (1 Tim. 1 : 3,) and left the other in Crete, while he went to Nicopolis. (Tit. 1 : 5. 3 : 12.)

ART. VI.—CHRISTIAN POLITICS.

AMONG the duties which the apostles urged upon the churches of their day, a prominent place is given to those which belong to civil relations. For this there was special occasion. Civil power was every where in pagan hands, and the institutions of government were intimately connected with pagan rites. The existing government was also oppressive, and was particularly hostile to christianity. In these circumstances, it became an interesting question among christians, how far they owed subjection to the civil power. In certain cases, it was well understood, they were bound to resist; and, pained as they were with abominations to which they could give no countenance, and goaded by wrongs for which they could procure no redress, they were in danger of resisting when they ought not; and so of dishonoring christianity, and needlessly exciting the jealousy of government towards those who bore the christian name. It was in this state of things, that the apostles laid down the principles and injunctions which so frequently occur in their writings. The following are a specimen. "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers: for there is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation. For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou not then be afraid of the power? Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same. For he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain; for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil. Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience' sake. For, for this cause pay ye tribute also: for they are God's ministers, attending continually on this very thing." "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man,

for the Lord's sake ; whether it be to the king, as supreme ; or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well."

Our condition happily differs from that of the early christians ; but the great principles which are here asserted, and the duties resulting from those principles which are here inculcated, deserve a regard which few are disposed to give them. These we therefore wish to explain and establish, in contrast with certain maxims and consequent habits, on this subject, which characterize our times.

Among the *principles* here asserted, one is, that *civil government is the appointment of God*. He, as the Author of the world, is its Supreme Ruler. He, of course, is the fountain of all subordinate authority. The power to govern, the right of coercion, the authority to make laws and enforce obedience, belong originally to him alone. We have no authority, individually, so much as to enforce respect to our own personal rights ; and much less, to enforce respect to the rights of others : and as we do not possess this authority originally in our individual capacity, we cannot acquire it by any social compact. To this purpose the apostle Paul introduces the passage which we have quoted from him, with the injunction, "Avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath : for it is written, Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord." If vengeance, that is, the punishment of wrong, is God's, it cannot, except by delegation from him, be ours ; and accordingly the apostle proceeds directly to say, "There is no power but of God : the powers that be, are ordained of God." This we would understand in its greatest extent. We would say, that, originally, no parent has the power, the authority, the right, to punish his child ; as well as no other individual of the human family, to punish his fellow. It is not the will of God, however, that sin should act unrestrained, and the preventive which he has ordained, is government,—parental government, and a regular administration of law in civil society. Do any ask how his will, on this subject, is indicated ? We answer : First, it is indicated by his providence. The social nature which he has given us, indicates his will, that we live together in society. Our mutual dependence, also, for all the important ends of our being, pertaining both to the present world and to the future, shows the same thing. We were not made to live every one alone, but in the blended interests and intercourse, first of the family, and then of civil society. But society without subordination and authority ; society where the strong may trample at pleasure on

the weak, and the wrathful scatter fire-brands, arrows and death among the innocent ; society without law, or, in a depraved world, without the arm of government to enforce subjection to law, is impossible. Secondly, this is more explicitly declared in the scriptures. "The powers that be, are ordained of God. Whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God." "He beareth not the sword in vain : for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil." Here, it is to be remarked, the vengeance, which, in the preceding verses, is declared not to belong to men in their individual character, is attributed to the magistrate, as delegated to him from God. "He is the revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil. He is *the minister or vicerent of God* for this purpose. As such, he is to proceed to the last extremity, when milder ways are ineffectual ; to wear the sword, and to wear it not in vain ; that is, to punish offenders with death, when the ends of government can not otherwise be attained. It is, then, the will and appointment of God, as declared both in his providence and in his word, that there be civil government, for the protection of the good, and for the restraint of the bad.

Another principle asserted is, that no *particular form of government is of universal obligation* ; but, in all ordinary cases, the form already established in any country, is, for the time being, to those who live under it of divine authority. We say, in all ordinary cases ; for the case of an oppressed people, throwing off the yoke, is at this day admitted, and with manifest reason, to form an exception. When a system of tyranny so entirely fails of accomplishing the ends of government, and the minds of the people are so rife for attempting a change, and the providence of God so favors it, that the good in prospect manifestly overbalances the evil, we dare not say, that a revolution, violent and bloody though it may be, is not just and laudable : for why is it the will of God in ordinary cases, that men should submit to the government which is established over them, tyrannical in many respects though it may be ? Certainly, not because he approves of tyranny, but only because such a government is better than none ; and in all ordinary cases, to attempt a change would promise evil only. The law of benevolence, the cause of human happiness, and a spirit of submission to God require a cheerful acquiescence. But when in his providence, a door is opened for throwing off oppression, and by means which promise a result, the good of which shall greatly overbalance the evil, then the same principles which in the

former case would require submission, would justify revolution. Nor do we believe that the scriptures above quoted ought to be so interpreted as to forbid, in such a case, the attempt. For such was not the case of those to whom they were addressed. Whatever may have been the wrongs which they suffered from government, there was no relief. It was established over them; and the attempt to effect a change would have resulted in evil only. The will of God, in their case, as indicated by his providence, clearly was, that they should submit to the existing government; thankful for what protection it afforded them, and resigned under the evils that were incident to it. But, that the same submission is required of those to whom the providence of God gives the opportunity of removing the evils of a civil nature under which they have groaned, and whom a regard to the public good, would unite in the attempt, it would be unreasonable to suppose. The exception to the general rule is however, rare. In all ordinary cases, the injunction of the apostle is doubtless binding, according to its literal and absolute import, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers: for the powers that be, are ordained of God: whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God:" and the literal meaning of this is, that the existing government in any country—whether despotic or free, whether monarchical or republican, and whether it may have originated in usurpation, or in the voice of the people—is binding by divine authority upon its subjects.

Another principle asserted, is, that *the individual men who are exalted to the administration of government over any people are to be acknowledged by them as invested with authority from God for that purpose.* This is implied in the principle just explained; "the powers that be," involving the men who administer the government, as well as the government itself. There may be much that is exceptionable in the former as well as in the latter. They may be corrupt men, they may have obtained their office by corrupt means; and they may abuse it by corrupt measures. All this was true of the Roman emperors. Some of them, at least, were among the vilest of men, and they both came to the throne by usurpation, and polluted it when there by iniquity and blood, yet on the question of submission to their authority, as ministers of God, the christians to whom Paul wrote, were permitted to make no inquiries. Whether they were the lawful heirs to the throne are not; whether they were good men or bad; and whether their laws were right or wrong, it was not necessary to decide. This was evident, that

they were "the powers which be," that is, they were in fact, established in their authority ; and this single fact the apostle would have his brethren take as sufficient evidence, that, for the time being it was the will of God they be obeyed. This indeed does not forbid, that under an elective government, like that in this country, men should avail themselves of constitutional means to remove from office those who are unworthy of it, nor, that they should claim the protection of law against the oppressive acts of those in power ; nor even, that, in the case before stated, they should unite to remove a tyrant from the throne. Neither of these was the case of those to whom the apostle wrote, and therefore there was no occasion for the exception. It would not be difficult, we think, to justify the exception, from approved scriptural examples, as well as the great principles of moral obligation ; but in the case of the early christians, there was no alternative, except either submission or rebellion ; and rebellion would only have brought mischief upon themselves and upon the cause to which they were devoted. The will of God was therefore plain, that they should submit themselves to the authorities established over them. So in all other cases, the men actually in power, by what means soever they have come to the possession of it, are to be acknowledged, until lawfully displaced, as invested with power by the appointment of God, and as clothed with his authority.

In this manner, christianity, without directly intermeddling with government in any form, accommodates herself to it in every form under which her lot is cast. Herself free, and the parent of true freedom, she yet submits herself, if so is the will of God, to the worst of tyrannies ; and designed as she is, in the counsels of God, to spread and prevail, and to rear up a kingdom in the highest sense free and universal, she is yet so far from impugning the kingdoms of this world, that she takes them as she finds them, and adds the sanction of her own authority, to enforce their enactments, so far as these do not directly contravene the commands of her King, or the consciences of her subjects. Thus, while her motto is, "Glory to God in the highest," it is in connection with "peace on earth, goodwill to men."

These principles, in their application to the conduct of men as citizens, inculcate obedience to the laws, in all things consistent with a good conscience. The exception of whatever infringes a good conscience, though not expressed, is fairly implied in the apostolic injunction. "We must needs be subject," he says, "*for conscience sake.*" But the idea of a person's

being subject for conscience sake, to what his conscience forbids, is absurd. When the commands of men plainly contravene the law of God, that we must obey God, rather than men, there can be no question. On this point, every person must be his own judge. He is bound, no doubt, to judge with candor and care, not mistaking the dictates of passion or prejudice for the will of God ; still, his own sense of the divine law must prevail. But, with this single exception, we are as much bound to submit to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake, as on this point we are bound to dissent. To say, as many do, that we are bound to obey only the *equitable* laws of government, is a position which tends to the subversion of government. For as every person must be his own judge respecting the wisdom and equity of the laws, so by this supposition, he is to decide for himself, which of the laws shall be obligatory upon him. If he thinks any of them to be unreasonable or unjust, (and the selfish desires and passions of men are enough to convince a multitude, that whatever restraints are laid upon their cupidity are unreasonable and unjust,) he is, of course, released from all obligation to obey them. This is, indeed, to invert the order of things, to elevate the inferior relations over the heads of the superior. It is to send those whom God has ordained to be a terror to evil-doers, to inquire of those whom they are to govern, which of the laws they consider it just and proper for them to obey, before they convict them of crime in transgression. What parent could govern his household in this manner ? Indeed, the assumption, that those who are the subjects of law are to be decided in their conduct by their own views of the reasonableness of the laws, is inconsistent with the very nature of government. When the laws are unjust, those who, like ourselves, live under an elective government, have a remedy. They have their share of constitutional power for the repeal of such laws. But until repealed, the most unjust and oppressive laws, provided only, that they require nothing inconsistent with a good conscience, are no less obligatory, and to be no less exactly obeyed by us, than the most wise and salutary.

If it be so, how wrong must be all combinations of men to sustain each other in violation of law. This is not only to impugn the particular law violated, but it is an attempt to overawe the power on which depends the efficacy of all law, and to lay open society to the unrestrained will of the licentious. The physical strength of a community is always on the side of the people. The rulers are few and weak in the comparison. How then is the authority of law sustained ? Why do not the mul-

itude rise in their might, to burn and kill at their pleasure, notwithstanding the laws? Some are prevented by moral principle, but the greater part are restrained by a reverence for authority, growing out of the custom of submission and the established influence of law in the community, together with a fear of the personal consequences of resistance. Let this restraining power be taken off from the minds of men; let that acquiescence in law, which grows out of the general custom of submission, cease; and that fear of consequences, which a sense of individual weakness inspires, be dispelled; let the discontented learn to question whether or not they shall submit to offensive laws, and presume on their power, by combining together to overawe the authorities of the state; and there is an end of all order, security, or subordination, in the community: just as in a family, successful resistance of parental authority in a few instances, is the destruction of government there. The consequences cannot terminate in the prevention of an odious measure, nor in the putting down of an offensive individual, which, perhaps, may be all that was at first intended. The government itself is destroyed or weakened, and all the interests which it was ordained to protect, are proportionably exposed to the will of the depraved. The protection of law is every man's birth-right. None can innocently deprive him of it. It is the very essence of civil liberty. Is that tyranny, which subjects our lives, our peace, our personal freedom, to the will of a despot? And is not that a worse tyranny, which puts all things into the hands of an infuriated multitude; which, often as we displease those who are around us, exposes our persons, our families, and our property, to their assaults, with no remedy? Be it so, that we have not suitably respected their wishes; that we have done wrong; that we deserve punishment: still, we have a claim to the adjudication of law; trial by jury, a hearing of our accusers face to face, an opportunity for our defense and an impartial decision in the established course of justice, are our inalienable right; and the power which wrests it from us, leaves the best man in the community, in the best acts of his life, no security. It is to prevent this, that government is ordained of God; and whoever resists, even by individual acts of intentional transgression, and much more by joining in combinations for the express purpose of overpowering the law, resists the ordinance of God.

From the same principles it obviously results, that we are conscientiously bound to pay the full amount of taxes required of us for the support of government. "For this cause," ("for

conscience sake,") "pay ye tribute also." Rome exacted of her provinces an annual tribute. The payment of this, involving as it did an acknowledgment of subjection, was particularly offensive to the Jews. The question of its lawfulness agitated the nation, as we know from the proposal of it on one occasion to our Savior; and doubtless it afterwards occasioned scruples in the minds of Jewish christians. But the apostle, with no hesitation, enjoined on them the duties of paying both tribute and custom, as required by the laws. He insisted on their doing this as an act of obedience to God. He considered them as being "dues"—a debt which in strict justice they owed for the protection which the government extended over them, and which, therefore, they ought to pay as cheerfully and conscientiously as any other debt. With what force, then, does this obligation lie on those of whom are required no tribute or custom to a conquering power, but only the taxes incurred in supporting the government, and maintaining the privileges under which they live. No debt can be more strictly due, as a matter of common honesty, than this; and all evasion in the payment of it, whether by keeping back from the list what the law requires to be entered, or by making such a disposition of property as to avoid a due proportion of the assessment to be made, or in any other way, common as it may be among men who bear the christian name, cannot be reconciled with christian probity. It is disingenuous—it often involves prevarication—and it always throws on those who are too conscientious or high-minded to submit to such artifices, a disproportionate burden. Government must have the requisite amount; and consequently, he who withholds a part of his quota, obliges his conscientious neighbor to pay it for him. However unjust, excessive, or partial a tax legally imposed may be, we are not authorized on that account to refuse or evade the payment of it. To assert, that we may, is to assume, that every individual has the right to judge, in his own case, over the law, and not until he has pronounced it just and equal, is he under obligation to obey; an assumption, manifestly, subversive of government. Doubtless legal methods of relief from partial and unjust requisitions may be adopted; but however unjust they may be, no relief which is not strictly legal, will a good conscience permit any one to attempt. There was tribute money demanded of Christ for the service of the temple, which he, as the Son of him to whom the temple belonged, ought not to have been required to pay; yet to avoid the scandal of not bearing his share of public burdens, poor as he was, he performed a miracle to comply

with the demand. So, for the credit of the gospel, as well as out of regard to law and justice, should his followers be exact and cheerful in this particular.

It is also our duty to honor our rulers. The command to honor the king, is as express and absolute as the command to honor father and mother. It even stands in connection with the command to fear God ; and, indeed, the civil magistrate of whatever name, or grade, is to be revered by us as standing, for the purposes of civil government, in the place of God—his vicergerent—clothed with his authority, and hence honored by the Spirit of inspiration with his name. "I have said ye are gods," we read in one of the Psalms, "and all of you children of the Most High." On this account it is, that those false pretenders to the christian name in the primitive churches, who proudly reviled the magistracy of their day, are marked with terms of such decided reprobation. As in the second epistle of Peter : "But chiefly them that walk after the flesh, in the lust of uncleanness, and despise government ; presumptuous are they, self-willed ; they are not afraid to speak evil of dignities. Whereas the angels, which are greater in power and might, bring not against them a railing accusation." And in the epistle to Jude : "Likewise also these filthy dreamers defile the flesh, despise dominion, and speak evil of dignities : yet Michael, the arch-angel, when contending with the devil, he disputed about the body of Moses, durst not bring against him a railing accusation, but said, 'the Lord rebuke thee.' But these speak evil of those things which they know not. Wo unto them !" If such rebukes were due to those who despised government, and spoke evil of dignities, when rulers were notoriously vile and oppressive, and the church was groaning under a cruel persecution by their hands, how inexcusable must such conduct be under a government fraught with such blessings to those who are under it as our own. We, indeed, are not required to renounce the exercise of a sober judgment, in respect both to the characters and the measures of our rulers ; and in an elective government like ours, where the people are so directly concerned in the knowledge of these, it is often proper for us to express our judgment ; but this should always be done in a manner, and with a spirit, consistent with the respect due to their authority as the ministers of God. The obloquy, derision, and invective, so common in our country, for the purpose of holding up the characters and authority of rulers to reproach, certainly cannot be reconciled with the respect and deference which God requires to be rendered to them ; and are suited only to destroy the efficacy of

the laws, and dissever the bonds of society. When, as it was in Israel, the child behaves himself proudly against the ancient, and the base against the honorable, we may be certain, that the social edifice stands trembling on its foundations.

Moreover, we are required to pray for our rulers. As the captive Jews were to pray for Babylon, that in the peace of the city they might have peace, so christians were required by the apostles to pray for kings, and all in authority—heathen, tyrants, and persecutors, as they were—that they might lead a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty. They were to do this as an expression of their good will towards them, before him who would have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth, and in the expectation, that he who is higher than the highest, would influence them to the adoption of salutary measures, or over-rule their bad designs for the best ends. That for such reasons, as well as on account of its direct influence upon our hearts, the duty rests on us with full weight, there can be no question; and were it more frequently and heartily performed, while there would be less disposition, there would also be less occasion, for virulent invective and bitter complaint.

By these observations we are led to point out certain false and dangerous principles, that are abroad in the community.

Among these is, The maxim, that the people are the source of power.—The people in this country, and in all free governments are, indeed, the medium of civil power. They form the constitution of this our government, and elect their own rulers. Still, it is the doctrine of Paul, and it will be found equally the dictate of sound reason and common sense, that the power to govern, is not originally in them; but, that all power is of God, and “the powers that be are ordained of God;” and hence results the vitally important conclusion, that rulers are accountable for the exercise of their power, not so much to the people, as to God.

Much has been said about a *social compact*, as the source of civil power. Mankind have been supposed to have agreed together, that they would individually relinquish certain personal rights, in consideration of their receiving certain social privileges. According to this theory, they consent to be governed by the majority, agreeably to certain constitutional rules, and to pay their due proportion to the support of government, in consideration of the protection and other advantages to be derived from society as thus constituted. Hence it is said, come all the powers of rulers, and all the obligations of the people.

But it does not appear in fact, that any civil state, or nation, and much less all civil states, have in fact been thus constituted. States and nations have indeed formed their own constitutions of government ; but so far from having derived their power in this way, it has, from the necessity of the case, been in the exercise of civil power as already possessed, that their constitutions themselves, have been formed, adopted, and made binding, by the will of the majority, upon the community ; nor is it easy to conceive how they could have the force of law in any other way. And were it true in fact, it would be dangerous in principle. For if it is by virtue of a compact, that the subject owes obedience to civil government ; then he is bound to the form of government, which is already established, be it ever so absurd, despotic, or unjust. He is bound by his bargain. "It is a universal law of contracts, that a man is not at liberty to retreat from his engagement, merely because he finds the performance disadvantageous, or because he has the opportunity of entering into a better." It is essential to the nature and design of contracts, that they cannot be dissolved except by consent of the parties. To call the relation between the ruler and subjects a contract, is therefore to say, that the most despotic prince on earth, is only holding his subjects to their agreement, from which it is not possible, that they should ever be released, except by his consent. Hence we further remark, that according to this doctrine, every violation of the compact on the part of the ruler, releases the subject from allegiance, and dissolves the government. In all conditional contracts a violation of the condition by one of the parties, vacates the obligation of the other :—a principle which it is easy to see, if applied to civil obligations, would destroy the stability of every political fabric in the world. It is not then to the intervention of compact, but to the appointment of God, that we are to assign our civil obligations. It is the appointment of God, written in our social nature and the circumstances of man in the present world, as well as in the volume of inspiration ; that there be civil societies, and civil government, as the indispensable bond of society ; that the laws of society, and those who administer them, be clothed with authority, for that purpose ; and, that both rulers and subjects be held amenable at his bar, for a due discharge of the obligations thus respectively devolved upon them.

Another false principle growing out of the former, is, that rulers are the *servants* of the people.

Very different is the title which the bible gives them. This assigns to them not the relation of a servant to his master, but of

God to his subjects. "I have said, ye are gods, and all of you, children of the Most High." In this as in other wrong principles, there is truth enough to give it currency, while it is essentially and practically false. Rulers under an elective government, are chosen by the people, and for the benefit of the people; and when their term of office expires, they are continued or not, at the will of the people; and are not as in despotic governments, a privileged order, elevated by prescriptive assumption, above the rest of the community, for their own benefit alone. So far, there is truth in the maxim. Still the business of a ruler is not to *serve* but to *govern*. He is clothed with office, not to do the will of the people, as a servant is to do the will of his master, but to govern them. The people may, indeed, and they will, if they please, remove him from office; but while he holds it, he is not their *servant* but their *ruler*. He is, or *ought* to be chosen from the people, for his superior wisdom, integrity, and firmness; he is not to be directed as to his own conduct, but to prescribe theirs—"to *govern* them, in the integrity of his heart and with the skillfulness of his hands." In a word, he is not *their* servant—but the servant of *God*, for their benefit—or in the exactly corresponding language of Paul, "*the ministers of God to them for good.*"

A third false principle, flowing from the preceding is, that rulers are bound to follow the will of the people. This is only carrying out the maxim, that rulers are the servants of the people, for unquestionably a servant is bound to do the will of his master:—and then it follows, as is sometimes avowed, that the people can do no wrong—whatever is the people's will, is politically right—the voice of the people is the voice of God—a maxim which puts darkness for light, and light for darkness, at a fearful rate. "Upon a set day, Herod, arrayed in royal apparel sat upon his throne, and made an oration to them. And the people gave a shout, saying, 'It is the voice of a god, and not of a man.'" Therefore, his voice *was* the voice of a god and not of a man. "Pilate said to the multitude, 'What shall I do then with Jesus, which is called Christ?' they all say unto him, 'let him be crucified.'" Therefore it was *right*, that he should be crucified; and Pilate did right, when he saw that he could prevail nothing, but that rather a tumult was made, in giving the sanction of his authority to the deed at which nature trembled, and the heavens gathered blackness. But only take the sentiment of Paul on this subject; "The powers that be are ordained of God." "Rulers are God's ministers," and it follows, that they like other men, are to be governed, "not by the lusts

of men, but by the will of God ;" and in their official conduct especially, as being clothed with authority, according to his appointment, and by his over-ruling providence, "to attend continually on this very thing ;" and then too the oath will have meaning, in which they solemnly swear, that, whether it be the people's will or not, they will maintain the constitution of their country and so discharge the duties of their office as in their judgment will best conduce to the good of the same.

The office of the civil magistrate is in this respect analogous to that of ministers of the gospel. They in a certain sense are servants of the people. The word, "ministers," means servants: and "the chiefest of the apostles," said in the name of them all, "We preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord, and ourselves your *servants*, for Jesus' sake." So ministers of the gospel generally, are to be employed for the good of the people, "attending continually," as it is said of the civil magistrate, "upon this very thing." But are they as servants of the people, bound to obey their will, as to what they shall preach? If they are servants of the *people*, they are in a higher sense, servants of *God*, to whom alone they are accountable ; as the magistrate also is the minister or servant of God : and Paul with obvious truth said, as every minister of God, ecclesiastical or civil, may with equal truth and propriety say, "*If I please men I should not be the servant of God.*"

A fourth principle, equally false and dangerous with the preceding, and naturally connected with them is, that there ought to be no connexion between religion and civil government. Government being founded on the social compact, it is said, is entirely a matter between men ; and has nothing to do with God or religion, either in its theory or practice. This maxim too has a color of truth. Religion and civil government are, and ought to be distinct in respect to their departments ; the one contemplates the interests of eternity, and the other the rights of civil society. These for ages were united ; and it has cost a struggle of ages to separate them. In all pagan countries, the civil ruler has claimed the right to control matters of religion. Church and State have been one. This was attempted under christianity. Rulers still claimed the right to decide for their people, whether or not they should receive the new religion ; and attempted to enforce its claims by prohibiting the propagation and avowal of it. Christianity resisted the claim—a conflict ensued—the blood of christians flowed like water ; thousands and tens of thousands went to the stake, until at last, christianity triumphed, and became the established religion of

the empire. But even then and for ages afterwards, the civil magistrates claimed the right of correcting errors in religion, while the ministers of religion on the other hand, too often assumed the right of dictating to the magistrates, what should be the measures of government. It is a matter of devout thanksgiving, that the subject is now better understood ; and that in our own land there is so happy an illustration of the true principle. The Church and State move on in their own proper spheres, united only in the purpose of making men happy and good. The civil ruler yields the rights of conscience to the subject, and the subject for conscience sake obeys. In this manner, religion and civil government, while they are distinct in their appropriate departments, are subservient to each other. Sent forth together as angels of mercy, from the throne of God, to redeem and save a lost world, though the one cannot do the office of the other, yet neither can the one be separated from the other, consistently with the common errand on which they are commissioned. Government spreads her broad shield over the sabbaths, and sanctuaries, and private walks, and social acts of religion, that so we may lead peaceable and quiet lives, in all godliness and honesty. And religion comes up to the chair of State, and in the name of Him who is exalted as Head over all demands, that rulers over men be just, and ruling in the fear of God. She goes to the hall of judgment and gives her charge to the judges and jurors, "Ye shall not respect persons in judgment. Defend the poor and the fatherless, do justice to the afflicted and needy. Rid them out of the hand of the wicked." She goes out into the streets of the city, and over the breadth of the land and proclaims ; "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers." "They are God's ministers to you for good ; wherefore ye must needs be subject not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake." "Fear God, honor the king." "I exhort also, that supplication, prayer, intercession, and giving of thanks be made for kings, and for all that are in authority." It is not true then, that there is no legitimate or important connexion between religion and government. Are any other interests that claim the protection of government to be compared with those of religion ; or is there any other influence so indispensable to the establishment and administration of government, as the influence and sanctions of religion ?

A fifth maxim refuted by this subject, as being false and dangerous, is, that human life is inviolable. You may not take the life of man, it is said, for any cause. Were civil government founded on a social compact, we see not how this could be dis-

puted. For clearly no man has power over his own life. How then can he by any agreement or on any conditions delegate to another power over it? God as the author, is also the disposer of human life; and God has said, "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed; for in the image of God made he man." Hence we infer the right, and not the right only, but the duty of the civil magistrate, as God's minister, to put the murderer to death. The injunction is absolute. *By man shall his blood be shed*: and it is remarkable that the reason assigned for the injunction is not so much the injury done to man as the dishonor done to God: "for in the image of God," &c. Hence God deems himself bound in honor to his own name, to avenge on guilty nations all the righteous blood which they have shed, by giving them blood to drink; and not only so, but he holds them answerable for all the blood which is shed within their limits, and which they themselves neglect to avenge according to his ordinance. We know it is sometimes said, that this ordinance was peculiar to the ancient dispensation. But on what authority is this said? The command was given immediately after the flood. It was given to the whole human race, in the person of its common ancestor; and it has never been revoked. On the contrary, the same principle is recognized in the new testament on this subject, which runs through the old. Thus in the last command of God to man, in the book of the Revelation of John, it is said, "They have shed the blood of saints and prophets, and thou hast given them blood to drink, for they are worthy." This is clearly recognized in the words, "If thou do that which is evil be afraid, for he beareth not the sword in vain;" since for what purpose beareth he the sword, but for the infliction of death? or how is it not in vain, if it is never to be used? or why on account of his bearing the sword, should any one be afraid, if it may not lawfully be employed for its appropriate end? It is not to be denied, that according to this passage the civil magistrate is authorized and delegated by the appointment of God, in certain cases, to take away human life, to prosecute unto death, not the murderer only, but every other rebel who cannot by other means be brought into subjection to the government. It is indeed a fearful extremity to be obliged to take away the life of any probationer for eternity, and especially of one whose unrepented crimes expose him to an eternity of woe—but it is also a fearful thing, by sparing the life of the guilty to expose that of the innocent, or to put it in the power of the rebellious to set at defiance the laws of society; and we see not what should pre-

vent any ruffian, once knowing, that his life could in no case be taken, from setting at defiance all attempts to coerce his submission.

Another principle which we cannot view as being other than false and dangerous, is derived from the preceding error, that all war is sinful. Wars, as they have been ordinarily conducted, have been the work of him who was a murderer from the beginning. The spirit of war is the spirit of pride, of selfishness, of boundless cupidity, and fell revenge. But war is not necessarily of this character. War, strictly defensive—that is, war as the last resort, when all other means fail to protect the essential institutions and rights of society—is authorized by the commission of the sword to the magistrate, to be borne by him not in vain. For is it his duty to put to death the single-handed rebel, who cannot otherwise be reduced to subjection? Must he not then put to death the armed band of rebels, who can by no means be persuaded to lay down their arms? And if he must call out his forces in battle array, against the band of home-born citizens, excited to rebellion, must he not do the same against the band of foreign invaders, embodied to subvert the government, and lay waste all that government is ordained of God to protect? It cannot, we think, be denied, that he may and ought to do this, and therefore ought to be prepared to do it, whenever the emergency occurs, unless the principle be true, that human life is in all cases inviolable; and hence this principle we consider not only as contrary to the language of the bible, but dangerous to the interests of society. Under the aspect of humanity, it is in reality the greatest cruelty; leaving us no protection against the cupidity and malignity of sin. And when we read: “The Lord is strong and mighty—the Lord is *mighty in battle* ;” and, “He was clothed with a *vesture dipped in blood* ;” and, “the *armies* which were in heaven followed ;” and “out of his mouth goeth a *sharp sword*, that with it he should smite the nations ;” and, “He hath on his vesture and on his thighs a name written, King of Kings and Lord of Lords ;” we can not but think, that if war were in itself sinful, such epithets would never have been applied by the Spirit of inspiration to him to whose nature and government sin is infinitely abhorrent. He is thus described in the act of subduing rebellious subjects of his own proper dominion—and he is not dishonored when those whom he has ordained to be his vicegerents on earth, in the same act, bear not the sword in vain.

We would now advert to some disastrous and threatening consequences of the false principles which we have stated.

One consequence is, the irreligious character of our government. We do not mean to assert, that our rulers are irreligious men, but that the course of things in the conduct of our government is such. Our rulers are considered the mere creatures and servants of the *people*: bound by the will of the *people*, and amenable only to them. Whether there be a God or not; whether either our rulers or the people have any belief in his being, or any regard to the sanction of his law; whether as a nation we are his sincere worshipers, or mere atheists, seems to be considered by a vast multitude, so far as government is concerned, altogether unimportant. There is scarcely another government on earth in which there is so little recognition of God as our own.

Another consequence is the elevation of unprincipled men to civil office. Here also we wish it to be understood, that we do not refer particularly to the men now in office. We refer to the general disregard of religious principle in the selection of candidates for civil offices, a disregard which clearly appears among all parties throughout the land. No matter whether the candidate be an atheist or a christian; whether he honor the sabbath or desecrate it; whether he reverence the sanctuary or despise it; whether he be a man of conscience, or a mere man of honor; on these subjects no questions are asked, but, Is he a man of the people—will he be obedient to their wills—will he be subservient to their ends, or in plain terms, will he be the tool of his party? He is not to be a minister of God, to do the will of God, or the public good—and much less is he to be an avenger to execute the will of God without respect to persons who do evil—he is not chosen with any such intent—but to be the mere instrument of a party, for the accomplishment of its exclusive designs. How degraded and ruinous such a perversion of God's ordinances!

Hence results, as a third consequence, *disrespect* of rulers and their office. Such disrespect, all over the land, is notorious and fearful. It is a common sin. High and low, all ages, and almost all classes, are not afraid to speak evil of dignities, to bring against them a railing accusation, to load their characters, their measures, their talents, with contempt, reproach, and ridicule. This, too, is a natural consequence of the principles which have been mentioned. It is not to be expected of masters, that they will treat their servants with marked deference, and more especially, those who demean themselves like servants, instead of

exercising authority as men whom the God of heaven has clothed with power, for the punishment of evil-doers, and the praise of them who do well.

Hence come, also, the sedition and riot, that are so prevalent. When rulers are no longer revered, it is not wonderful if the laws are no longer obeyed. An infuriated multitude may be expected, at their will, to ride over the heads of those whom they have constituted only their servants, and regarded as such, and, when the latter suit not their wishes, to take the administration of affairs directly into their own hands; and when this shall come to be the general course of things, when we shall no longer be governed by the laws, but by the irresponsible will of a mob; when civil authorities shall stand silent by, while the abandoned are wreaking their vengeance on such as have offended them; then, indeed, our liberty is gone,—we are under the worst of tyrannies,—we are suffering the worst of persecutions. The faction, that can do this for *one cause*, will most certainly, if not put down by law, not stop there. The same men who, in defiance of law, put down a lecturer on slavery, will put down a lecturer on any subject of the gospel, that may happen equally to offend them; or for any other cause that can be named; and then what interest have we on earth, that would not lie in jeopardy?

In the eleventh chapter of the Revelation, we read of God's two witnesses, that, "when they shall have finished their testimony," or, as the phrase is now generally understood, "when they shall *be about to finish* their testimony, the beast, that ascended out of the bottomless pit, shall make war against them, and shall overcome them and kill them, and their dead bodies shall lie in the street of the great city, which, spiritually, is called Sodom and Egypt, where also our Lord was crucified. And they of the people, and kindreds, and tongues, and nations, shall see their dead bodies three days and a half, and shall not suffer their dead bodies to be put in graves. And they that dwell upon the earth shall rejoice over them, and make merry, and shall send gifts one to another, because those two prophets tormented them that dwell on the earth." Something not unlike this is realized in this fair land; and should it be suffered to proceed, and to suppress all that truth which offends the ungodly, and prevail wherever that truth is published; then will it be fully realized, according to the terms of the prophecy. That the time is at hand, respectable expositors believe. If it be so, may a gracious God prepare us for the hour of temptation, that shall come upon the world, to try them who dwell upon the earth!

As the only proper remedy for these evils, let us, in conclusion, suggest the necessity of our treating the laws, and those who administer them, with reverence. For conscience sake, let us show our submission to the one, and every due token of respect to the other. The law of the land may be satisfied with a careless external respect. Religion looks at the motive. Then only is our civil homage strictly done to God, when it is rendered from respect to his will; and then, also, will it be cheerful and constant. Let us also train up our children to habits of due reverence and submission. God has said, "Honor thy father and thy mother:" and it is by the habit of obedience to this command, that mankind, in their successive generations, are prepared, easily, naturally, and without constraint, as their instinctive principle, to be subject to principalities and powers, to obey magistrates, and render unto all their dues, fear to whom fear, honor to whom honor. But let them be accustomed, from their early years, in the unsubdued pride and stubbornness of a fallen nature, to make light of father and mother, and at the same time, see the father and mother an example of insubjection and disrespect to civil authorities, and it would be a miracle, if they were not to be despisers of government, presumptuous, self-willed, not afraid to speak evil of dignities, and prepared for the work of anarchy and misrule. In every government, and more especially in a free government, like our own, the tendency of which is to cherish the pride and self-will of our nation, the true conservative principle is the habit of subordination induced by the fear of God, in the families of the people. And, finally, let us "sanctify the Lord of hosts in our hearts; and let him be our fear, and let him be our dread. Let a principle of true religion pervade the minds of our rulers and the leaders of the people; then indeed shall it be said of us, "Happy is the people that is in such a case; yea, happy is that people whose God is the Lord." Though it pervade not the minds of the nation, let it rule our own minds; then will the Lord of hosts be our sanctuary; whatever troubles may befall us, we shall be delivered from the fluctuating hopes and fears of those who have no secure resort in times of public calamity; and so with our hearts fixed, trusting in Him whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and whose dominion endureth unto all generations, we shall show to all around us, that those only are happy, whose hope is in the Lord our God.

ART. VII.—EMANCIPATION IN THE WEST INDIES.

Emancipation in the West Indies : A Six Months' Tour in Antigua, Barbadoes, and Jamaica, in the year 1837. By JAMES A. THOME and J. HORACE KIMBALL. New York: published by the American Anti-Slavery Society. 1838.

Letters from the West Indies, relating especially to the Danish Island St. Croix, and to the British Islands Antigua, Barbadoes, and Jamaica. By SYLVESTER HOVEY, late Prof. of Math. and Nat. Phil. Amherst College. New York: Gould & Newman. 1838.

No one can contemplate the experiment now making in the West Indies, without feeling, that its bearings are most important, and deserving a faithful examination. For years, the attention of philanthropists in Great Britain have been directed to the condition of these islands; and notwithstanding the opposition they have met with, they have steadily gone forward, headed by the honored name of Wilberforce, urging the claims of humanity and reason, till their mighty efforts have been crowned with a signal triumph. Wilberforce, indeed, has not lived to see this last victory, for which his preceding advocacy has prepared; but numerous friends, who stood with him, shoulder to shoulder, like the immortal phalanx, and bore the brunt of the battle, now hear the shouts of rejoicing which burst from thousands rescued from bondage, and put upon the path of intellectual and moral improvement. The history of such a triumph of benevolence over cupidity, will form an interesting chapter in the annals of our age; and every book which throws light upon the conditions of the place where, and the people among whom such a change has taken and is taking place, is a desirable acquisition to our literature. We have before us two volumes, emanating from widely different sources, yet either is entitled to careful perusal. Thome and Kimball's Journal is both the earlier and larger book, and probably is the best known, owing to its extensive dissemination by the Anti-Slavery Society, under whose auspices they went out to the West Indies. It is also more a book of details and collected testimony, and in this respect is very important. Prof. Hovey's Letters, though smaller in size, and though not aiming so much at furnishing details, nor an equal variety of documentary testimony, is drawn up with great care, and evinces (what we

know him to possess an uncommonly sound judgment and discriminating mind. Both works are written with apparent candor; and we think, that, subject to deductions such as must always, more or less, be made, for the imperfection of man, they are entitled to unquestioned credit. If any one should wish a lucid view of the operation of the free or the apprenticeship system in the West Indies, drawn up with reference both to its advantages and disadvantages, and after a thorough examination by a matured mind and a kind heart, unprejudiced, and not decidedly pledged to any theory, we would commend him to Prof. Hovey. If he further wishes to listen to the oral and written testimony of the inhabitants there, white, colored, and blacks, as communicated to men, ardent in the cause of freedom, and anxious for its success, yet honestly meaning to give a true description of things as they saw them, we would point them to the volume of Messrs. Thome and Kimball. Nor, in making this distinction, do we mean to impair the credit of either. We believe, that all these gentlemen meant to give us a true picture of the West Indies as it was, so far as they had the means, and their means too were more ample than ordinary; but knowing as we do, the different circumstances under which they went out, we make only those allowances which are demanded by any one who is desirous of gaining as accurate knowledge as lies in his power. Prof. Hovey's deductions, we think, evince the greater discrimination; and from the fact, that his main conclusions were arrived at without any previous bias in their favor, they seem to have greater weight. Messrs. Thome and Kimball went out with the hope, which they gratified, of gathering a mass of testimony in favor of the entire emancipation of the slave. They were already committed as advocates of a theory which had enlisted their hearts, and called forth their urgency of appeal, both from the pulpit and through the press. It was impossible they should be entirely free from the influence of their pre-conceived opinions; they must desire to find evidence of their own theory; and every thing *couleur de rose* in this respect was most acceptable. Still, they were aware, too, that whatever might be brought to bear upon the subject, from those who had been opposed, was immensely important; and this led them to apply to such persons for their testimony. We see no reason to doubt the authenticity of that which they have produced. It has never been denied; and these declarations correspond, so far as they go to the same points, with the results of Prof. Hovey's observations.

Here, then, are two independent witnesses, and their united testimony is certainly entitled to great weight. Nothing that the Anti-Slavery Society has published, is so well calculated to make a proper impression on the mind of the slaveholder, and were it not, that their means of access are hindered by some rash spirits among them, whose intemperate language almost precludes any voice of theirs from a hearing, we should have great hopes, that this volume would produce a very considerable impression among the class of men at the South whom it is most desirable to reach. Indeed, we do trust, that, as it is, it will have effect. In this respect, Prof. Hovey's book is more favorably situated. And here we would call to the recollection of some, prominent in conducting the Anti-Slavery press, the ridicule with which the exposition as to the design of the American Union, to collect information from both sides, was met. We bear them no grudge, surely, for having in this respect become wiser, and we are thankful, that we have on our table two volumes, from two so widely differing associations, who have followed the dictates of propriety and common sense in seeking to profit by so capital a field of observation. The events which have transpired in Barbadoes and Jamaica, since the visits of these gentlemen, and since their accounts were published, give increasing interest to their remarks. Before these pages reach our readers, Slavery will have ceased in those islands, and the 1st of August, 1838, will be remembered as a great epoch in the history of the world's advancement. The other islands subject to Great Britain will probably soon follow the example, and through the influence of that nation, France and other nations on the continent, will adopt the plan, and emancipation will be proclaimed throughout all the West Indies. A few years will determine the consequences—but we have no fear of the result, nor does it require the ken of prophecy to predict, that from this period of the abolition of slavery in the British West Indies, a new face of things will be seen in those fertile plantations. The demonstration will be given on a far more extensive scale than before, that free labor is of greater profit than slave labor on any system can be. Property will rise, and many whose eyes are thus first opened to the truth, will look back on their former opposition to the call for emancipation with surprise and regret, and will feel, that had they been willing to listen to the voice of reason, they would long ago have reaped the benefit of security and increased prosperity. Already, since the Act has passed, and before it has gone into effect, their papers are filled with plans which open to them, but

of which before they could not avail themselves. Among these are a removal of the restrictions on the trade to Hayti. So long as slavery existed, such a measure was impracticable, but the probability now seems to be, that the home government may repeal the existing regulations, and Jamaica, with the other British Isles may enjoy the benefits of this commercial intercourse.

We would not be understood to hold, that by such an act of emancipation, the slaves of Jamaica and Barbadoes, will be placed in all respects, on a footing with those who have always been free. It will take years indeed to effect this. Even when no other obstacles exist, a race of men who have worn the chain for more than a century, who have been shut out from the privileges and blessings of education, cannot at once enter into all the enjoyments which crown others who have never been in bondage. The force of habit is powerful—the reformation of morals is comparatively slow. They must be for a length of time ignorant, and conscience, that feeling which has but just begun, as it were, to utter its response in their bosom, weak. But when the great blow has been struck, when no such peculiar difficulties stand in the way of their elevation, as might be in some other situations, we may believe, that those who once were their masters will put forth no common efforts and their exertions will be attended by no common success. Forming as they do the mass of the population, blending by almost imperceptible gradations with the European race, within a tropical climate, and accustomed to the closest intercourse, though in different relations, the final assimilation and incorporation of all these constituent bodies will take place. The same laws which govern now, with these exceptions, will govern hereafter as to the principles of regulating society. Talent, wealth and (alas, that it should be too often the last on the scale) moral worth will be the basis of intercourse. He who can attain to the portal will find the way open before him—he who cannot, must be excluded, though he may cast many a wishful glance thither, and curse the customs which hinder his approach. Motives of powerful weight, will therefore call forth exertion, and notwithstanding all the disadvantages in their path we should not be surprised, if the progress of the late enslaved should be comparatively rapid. Difficulties no doubt may exist in carrying out the results, and these will be eagerly laid hold of, and exaggerated by such as are unfriendly to the change. The emancipated slaves, however much they have been treated like beasts, are men, and have the passions and infirmities com-

mon to human nature. They will have their preferences; they will feel the promptings of pride and avarice; they will be often blind to their own true interests, and obstinately bent on self-indulgence; they will need the discipline of law and government; they may often make no nice moral discriminations; some may be idle and vagrant; some of the former masters may suffer, may be obliged to contract their expenses and curb their tempers—disputes may now and then rise, and evils of various kinds may be felt. All these we say, are to be expected—they occur in every free community—they are the universal lot of society. But they cannot impair the grand demonstration making, as to the utility of emancipation in the West Indies.

Thus far we have looked at the subject in its present relations to the West Indies. It is important to notice the moral and religious situation of the islands. This will essentially aid us in forming a proper estimate of the preparation which there existed, for the great event which has now become a part of history.

The system of slavery in the West Indies, in its operation, had all the varieties which characterize any condition of society among men. Some there are in whom there is a greater share of the milk of human kindness than resides in the bosoms of others; and of course the administration of unrestrained power by such, will be different than in the case of the latter. There are some men too, less indolent than others, who are accustomed to superintend their own affairs, and who, acting merely on the principle of regard to their temporal interests, will bestow more care and attention on those on the profit of whose labors they live. Some there are too, though we fear a less numerous class, who feel a higher claim of religion, requiring them to remember, that souls, in the providence of God, are placed under their charge, for whose spiritual condition they must render an account. There are other proprietors, at a distance, into whose ear the cry and groaning of the enslaved never enters, and who know not or care not for the misery and anguish which accompanies the incessant toils and hardships by which is derived the means to support their own luxury or profligacy; and others still, who though witnessing all, have no heart to relieve or minister a word of comfort to the sorrow-stricken being, who wails in hopeless bondage, and smarting under the lash of cruel overseers. All these phases of condition must be found, according to the peculiarities which enter into the relation of master and slave. Such was the case in the West Indies, on the same island. But there are also causes which have operated to pro-

duce a difference in the different islands. The island of Antigua, was in advance of all the others, in the intellectual and moral condition of the slaves. A course of labor by missionaries has been in operation for more than seventy years—and though it has proceeded in the midst of opposition and discouragements, yet it has never been without some perceptible effect on the slaves themselves; and at present, if we may judge from the works before us, the people are as well supplied with religious teachers as almost any part of the United States. Thus Professor Hovey says:

‘The United Brethren commenced their labors in Antigua in 1756; and have been gradually increasing, in numbers and influence, till the present time. They have five establishments in different parts of the island, and twenty-two missionaries; of whom eleven are ordained to preach the Gospel. More than one third of the emancipated people belong to their denomination, and regularly attend public worship. Their number of communicants is 5,113, giving an average to each church of more than a thousand members. They have Sabbath schools, in which about 900 children receive instruction. The Moravian congregations are divided for the purpose of receiving instruction into three classes,—candidates for baptism—candidates for communion—and communicants. Each class is put on a prescribed course of instruction, and is met by the pastor once a week to receive explanations of the lesson, and to be examined. On the Sabbath the whole congregation meet together. The entire course of instruction is simple; and is exceedingly well adapted to the capacities and circumstances of the people.’ * * * *

‘I am unable to say precisely when the Wesleyan Methodists established their mission in Antigua. It was, however, more than forty years ago. They have five ordained ministers, besides several local preachers, and seven regular places of public worship. More than 8,000 people are under their charge. Their Sabbath schools are full and flourishing. They divide their congregation and instruct them in classes, in nearly the same way as the Moravians. Over each class is appointed a leader, whose duty it is to meet the class every week, and inquire into the spiritual condition of the members. It is very manifest that their system, as well as that of the Moravians, while it requires great effort on their part, is extremely efficacious in its results.

Thus it appears, that for the accommodation and religious instruction of about 37,000 souls, there are twenty-six ordained ministers, and eighteen regular houses for public worship, besides several other places where occasional preaching is enjoyed. This is as good a supply as is generally found even in the northern parts of the United States. I am happy to say, that the most perfect harmony and good feeling prevail among the three denominations; and that the clergy are encouraged in the faithful discharge of their duties by witnessing gratifying results of their labors.’ *Letters*, pp. 81, 82, 83.

The testimony of Messrs. Thome and Kimball goes to establish the same conclusion :

There are three denominations of christians in Antigua: the Established Church, the Moravians, and Wesleyans. The Moravians number fifteen thousand—almost exclusively negroes. The Wesleyans embrace three thousand members, and about as many more attendants. Of the three thousand members, says a Wesleyan missionary, "not fifty are white—a larger number are colored; but the greater part black." "The attendance of the negro population at the churches and chapels," (of the established order,) says the Rector of St. John's, "amounts to four thousand six hundred and thirty-six." The whole number of blacks receiving religious instruction from these christian bodies, making allowance for the proportion of white and colored included in the three thousand Wesleyans, is about twenty-two thousand—leaving a population of eight thousand negroes in Antigua who are unsupplied with religious instruction.

The Established Church has six parish churches, as many "chapels of ease," and nine clergymen. The Moravians have five settlements and thirteen missionaries. The Wesleyans have seven chapels, with as many more small preaching places on estates, and twelve ministers; half of whom are itinerant missionaries, and the other half, local preachers, employed as planters, or in mercantile, and other pursuits, and preaching only occasionally. From the limited number of chapels and missionaries, it may be inferred that only a portion of the twenty-two thousand can enjoy stated weekly instruction. The superintendent of the Moravian mission, stated that their chapels could not accommodate more than *one-third* of their members.

There has been a perceptible increase in the attendance at the several places of worship since the abolition of slavery—especially in the rural districts; and in consequence, additional chapels and missionaries are greatly needed. Each of the denominations complains of the lack of men and houses. The Wesleyans are now building a large chapel in St. John's, on land granted for that purpose by the legislature. It will accommodate two thousand persons. "Besides free sittings, there will be nearly two hundred pews, every one of which is now in demand." pp. 94, 95.

As to *education*, there does not seem to have been an equal diffusion as in religious privileges. Slavery must almost necessarily debar from the opportunity of learning to read; and, accordingly, wherever it has existed, we find scarcely any who possess such a capacity. Prof. H. and Messrs. Thome and Kimball do not as fully coincide in the degree of preparation in these respects existing in Antigua. We will leave both to speak for themselves, though we regret we cannot quote at full length :

'Thus it appears that all the schools, belonging to the different religious denominations, give instruction to 5,168 scholars. In addition to these, there are many private schools on the estates, which are supported either by the proprietor, or by the parents of the children.

I was informed that the schools are so distributed as to be accessible to every family; and that there is not a child on the island, who may not, if he chooses, enjoy their advantages. In point of fact, though no compulsion is used, most of those who are of a suitable age attend. I was happy to learn that there was an increasing desire on the part of parents to educate their children; and that they often made commendable sacrifices to accomplish the object. And what, perhaps, affords still more encouragement, is that the adults themselves frequently manifest a strong desire for knowledge. In such cases, they improve their leisure moments during the day, in learning to read, and are often seen in the highway and fields with a book in their hands. I must however add, that in many instances there is a want of interest on the subject; and that numbers of children, through the prejudice or neglect of their parents, live in idleness, who should be compelled to attend school.' *Letters*, pp. 86, 87.

Among the particulars of the preparation which was in Antigua, he specifies the following:

'In the first place, a great relaxation of sentiment in regard to slavery had taken place in the minds of the planters. This is in truth the first step towards any form of emancipation; and is quite as necessary a preparation for the master, as are instruction and moral principle for the slave. When the slave becomes free, he is elevated to higher ground and acts on higher principles. He is no longer to be governed like the brute, entirely by fear; other principles of his nature now begin to operate. To meet this change in his character and condition, a corresponding change is necessary in the treatment of him. He cannot be controlled by coercion as he once was; but must be approached and addressed as a man, possessing all the instincts, and passions, and endowments of our common nature. This power is not at once acquired by a person who has known no other method of enforcing his commands, than the whip. Such an one cannot instantly change the deportment of an absolute and tyrannical master, into that of a kind and conciliating employer. He cannot, at once, dismiss the feeling of his superiority, and treat his slave, I will not say as an equal, but as a laborer, whose service he cannot compel, but must conciliate with kindness, and purchase at a stipulated price. This is a capacity in which he has not been accustomed to act; and if the change from slavery to freedom should be instantaneous, he would, in all probability, be found as little prepared for it as the slave.

But in Antigua, the way has been preparing many years for the transition. A person, who had long resided there, informed me, that the efforts of Wilberforce and his coadjutors perceptibly modified the views which were entertained of slavery in that island. From that

time, the slaves have been treated with greater lenity and kindness—their character and comfort have been more regarded—and their wants better supplied. Long before emancipation, solitary confinement had been substituted, to a very great extent, for corporeal punishment; and when this was inflicted, it was not common to give more than six or eight lashes. Masters were in the habit of referring cases to magistrates, which they had power to decide and punish themselves, and such as were guilty of undue severity were presented at the Court of Sessions. A gentleman told me, that on the estate where he resides, and which has 274 negroes, no driver has been allowed to carry a whip for fifteen years, and such was the general practice on the island. This relaxation of sentiment and conduct on the part of the masters, had produced a corresponding change in the feelings of the slave; so that instead of the fear and jealousy which usually exist between them, and forever keeps them at variance, mutual acts of kindness had produced a mutual confidence and good will; and when the bands of slavery were destroyed, there were other and better ties to hold them together. This circumstance, in some measure, accounts for the fact, that when slavery was abolished, so few left their former masters; as it will be recollected, that on four or five plantations, where a different policy had been pursued, the slaves at once abandoned their places and sought better employers. This may be considered a specimen of what would have been general, if a similar state of feeling had existed all over the island.

In the second place, much had been done to prepare the slaves for freedom by the inculcation of moral and religious principles, and by the establishment of schools. As I have already remarked, the Moravians commenced their mission in the island about eighty years ago, and have persevered, with their characteristic energy and benevolence, “through good report and evil report.” The Wesleyans have long been efficient fellow-laborers in the same enterprise; and for the last twelve or fifteen years the established church has espoused the cause with a very commendable zeal. From these dates, it appears that the efforts for the religious instruction of the slaves commenced long anterior to emancipation; and, in point of fact, they have not been very materially increased since that event.

As to their agency in accomplishing it, I need say nothing in addition to the remarks already made. It was the uniform testimony of the people in Antigua, that religion had been the most efficient cause in preparing the way for freedom—that it had taught the slaves a respect for the laws both of God and man; and had thrown over them the restraints, which are of vital importance in their present condition. So that emancipation, instead of introducing religious instruction, has itself entered upon the highway, which religion had prepared.

For a long time the missionaries met with great opposition. If they were not persecuted, they were treated with neglect and often contempt. At last, however, they gained over public sentiment to their favor, and, for many years, have not only been allowed to pursue their labors without molestation, but have had the sanction and encouragement of the planters.

According to the best information I could obtain, the credit of introducing Sabbath schools into Antigua belongs to the Methodists. They were commenced in 1813, and soon led the way to the establishment of other schools. From that time the Methodists have labored in the cause of education with indefatigable industry and increasing success. As we have already seen, the other denominations have lent their aid, and are now but little if any less distinguished for their zeal. Thus religion found in education a powerful auxiliary; and they labored hand in hand for many years, in preparing the slaves for the immense blessing which they have since received. My object in these remarks is not to make the impression, that the entire work of education and religious instruction was finished previous to emancipation; but that it was begun and in successful operation long before that event; not that an equal amount of improvement elsewhere is indispensable to immediate emancipation. On this last point I intend at present to express no opinion; but it is desirable that the facts in the case of Antigua should be perfectly understood.

In the third place, the manner in which the slaves received their allowances and disposed of them, had taught them how to manage their own concerns, and to provide for their wants in a state of freedom. They rarely consumed all the provisions which their masters allowed them; but carried a part to market and bartered them for others. They did the same with their cloth. Many of the vegetables also which they raised, they sold; and with the little sums of money procured in this way and in others, they purchased a variety of things for their comfort and enjoyment. Thus they became acquainted with the prices of different articles of food and clothing, and acquired no little skill in disposing of their commodities. This knowledge is now of the utmost importance to them, as they receive their wages in money, with which they go to town and purchase their clothing and the necessaries of life. It is said, that no people better understand the value of what they have to sell or wish to buy, or manifest more shrewdness in making a bargain, than the negroes. This characteristic, however, is not peculiar to the negroes of Antigua. It exists, perhaps, in an equal degree throughout all the West India islands.

In the last place, the success of immediate emancipation in Antigua, is to be ascribed, in no small degree, to the fact, that it was a voluntary measure on the part of the planters. It was not a thing which was forced upon them; but a plan of their own. They, therefore, felt a concern in its success, not only as it involved their interest, but as being a scheme of their own devising. They had ventured to decline the system recommended by Parliament, and to propose another, which they thought preferable. With them, therefore, solely rested the responsibility of its success. This secured a unanimity of feeling and a co-operation in action, which could scarcely have been expected under other circumstances; and which contributed greatly to the success of the experiment. In addition to this, the slaves saw their indebtedness to the planters for even a greater boon than Parliament had proposed. This awakened their gratitude and inspired them with confidence in

the kind intentions of the planters, and prepared both parties for reciprocal good will and fidelity, when the shackles of slavery were unloosed.

I may add, in conclusion, that the enterprise has been under the guidance of wise and humane counsellors. Among these, I am bound to mention in particular, Dr. Thomas Nugent, a gentleman, to whom I have several times alluded, and who was Speaker of the House at the time the Emancipation Bill passed. He is equally distinguished as a philosopher, a philanthropist, and a statesman. I am greatly indebted to him not only for ample and matured information which he gave me, but for his personal kindness and hospitality. He is universally respected in the island; and is the man to whom I was referred by all parties, as not only having had the greatest influence in accomplishing safely the work of emancipation, but as being most able to furnish accurate and satisfactory information on the subject. It gives me the greatest pleasure to bear this testimony, because he has conferred the same favor on others, who have visited the island upon a similar errand.' *Letters*, pp. 87—93.

Messrs. Thome and Kimball, are not so full in alluding to these particulars. They say :

'That education was by no means extensive, previous to emancipation. The testimony of one planter was, that not a *tenth part* of the present adult population knew the letters of the alphabet. Other planters, and some missionaries, thought the proportion might be somewhat larger; but all agreed that it was very small. The testimony of the venerable Mr. Newby, the oldest Moravian missionary in the island, was, that such was the opposition among the planters, it was impossible to teach the slaves, excepting by night, secretly. Mr. Thwaites informed us, that the children were not allowed to attend day school after they were six years old. All the instruction they obtained after that age, was got at night—a very unsuitable time to study, for those who worked all day under an exhausting sun. It is manifest that the instruction received under six years of age, would soon be effaced by the incessant toil of subsequent life. The account given in a former connection of the adult school under the charge of Mr. Morrish, at Newfield, shows most clearly the past inattention to education. And yet Mr. M. stated that his school was a *fair specimen of the intelligence of the negroes generally*. One more evidence in point is the acknowledged ignorance of Mr. Thwaites' teachers. After ransacking the whole freed population for a dozen suitable teachers of children, Mr. T. could not find even that number who could *read well*. Many children in the schools of six years old read better than their teachers.

We must not be understood to intimate that up to the period of the Emancipation, the planters utterly prohibited the education of their slaves. Public sentiment had undergone some change previous to that event. When the public opinion of England began to be awakened against slavery, the planters were induced, for peace sake, to *tolerate*

education to some extent; though they cannot be said to have *encouraged* it until after emancipation. This is the substance of the statements made to us. Hence it appears, that when the active opposition of the planters to education ceased, it was succeeded by a general indifference, but little less discouraging. We of course speak of the planters as a body; there were some honorable exceptions.' * * *

'We were grieved to find that most of the teachers employed in the instruction of the children, were exceedingly unfit for the work. They are very ignorant themselves, and have but little skill in the management of children. This however is a necessary evil. We were very happy to learn, that the emancipated negroes feel a great anxiety for the education of their children. They encourage them to go to school, and they labor to support them, while they have strong temptations to detain them at home to work. They also pay a small sum every week for the maintenance of the schools.' pp. 126, 127, 131.

In order that our readers may understand the situation, politically, of the emancipated slaves of Antigua, we subjoin from Messrs. Thome and Kimball, the following summary, in answer to the inquiry, "What is the amount of freedom in Antigua, as regulated by law?" They reply:

1st. The people are entirely free from the whip, and from all compulsory control of the master.

2d. They can change employers whenever they become dissatisfied with their situation, by previously giving a month's notice.

3d. They have the right of trial by jury in all cases of a serious nature, while for small offences, the magistrate's court is open. They may have legal redress for any wrong or violence inflicted by their employers.

4th. Parents have the entire control of their children. The planter cannot punish them, compel them to work, separate them from their parents, prevent their attending school, or in any way interfere with them. At the same time, the parents have the whole charge of their support.

5th. By an express provision of the legislature, it was made obligatory upon every planter to support all the superannuated, infirm, or diseased on the estate, *who were such at the time of emancipation*. Those who have become so since 1834, fall upon the hands of their relatives for maintenance, unless the planter voluntarily takes the charge of them.

6th. The amount of wages is not determined by law. By a general understanding among the planters, the rate is at present fixed at a shilling per day, or a little more than fifty cents per week, counting five working days. This matter is wisely left to be regulated by the character of the seasons, and the mutual agreement of the parties concerned. As the island is suffering rather from a paucity of laborers, than otherwise, labor must in good seasons command good wages. The present rate of wages is extremely low, though it is made barely tolerable by

the additional perquisites which the people enjoy. They have their houses rent free, and in connection with them small premises forty feet square, suitable for gardens, and for raising poultry and pigs, &c.; for which they always find a ready market. Moreover, they are burthened with no taxes whatever; and added to this, they are supplied with medical attendance at the expense of the estates.

7th. The master is authorized in case of neglect of work, or turning out late in the morning, or entire absence from labor, to reduce the wages or withhold them for a time, not exceeding a week.

8th. The agricultural laborers may leave the field whenever they choose, (provided they give a month's previous notice,) and engage in any other business; or they may purchase land, and become cultivators themselves, though in either case they are of course liable to forfeit their houses on the estates.

9th. They may leave the island, if they choose, and seek their fortunes in any other part of the world, by making provision for their near relatives left behind. This privilege has been lately tested by the emigration of some of the negroes to Demerara. The authorities of the island became alarmed lest they should lose too many of the laboring population, and the question was under discussion, at the time we were in Antigua, whether it would not be lawful to prohibit the emigration. It was settled, however, that such a measure would be illegal, and the planters were left to the alternative of either being abandoned by their negroes, or of securing their continuance by adding to their comforts and treating them kindly.

10th. The right of suffrage and eligibility to office are subject to no restrictions, save the single one of property, which is the same with all colors. The property qualification, however, is so great, as effectually to exclude the whole agricultural negro population for many years.

11th. *The main constabulary force is composed of emancipated negroes, living on the estates.* One or two trust-worthy men on each estate are empowered with the authority of constables in relation to the people on the same estate, and much reliance is placed upon these men, to preserve order, and to bring offenders to trial.

12th. A body of police has been established, whose duty it is to arrest all disorderly or riotous persons, to repair to the estates in case of trouble, and co-operate with the constables, in arraigning all persons charged with the violation of law.

13th. The punishment for slight offences, such as stealing sugar-canes from the field, is confinement in the house of correction, or being sentenced to the tread-mill, for any period from three days to three months. The punishment for burglary, and other high offences, is solitary confinement in chains, or transportation for life to Botany Bay.

Such are the main features in the statutes, regulating the freedom of the emancipated people of Antigua. It will be seen that there is no enactment which materially modifies, or unduly restrains, the liberty of the subjects. There are no secret reservations or postscript provisos, which nullify the boon of freedom. Not only is slavery utterly abolished, but all its appendages are scattered to the winds; and a system

of impartial laws secures justice to all, of every color and condition.' pp. 131—134.

Prof. Hovey's views on the same subject are expressed in the following terms :

'But, though immediate emancipation was proclaimed to the slaves in Antigua, let it not be supposed, that they were raised at once to the enjoyment of all the rights and privileges of enlightened citizens. As soon as the assembly had resolved on immediate emancipation, it proceeded to pass enactments, designed expressly for the protection and government of the liberated people. The object was not indeed to curtail their substantial freedom, but rather to prevent the abuse of it—to hedge them about with such restraints and checks, as would not only preserve them from wanton outrages, but which should confine them to steady industry and economy, in those subordinate situations which they must for a long time occupy.

It was perfectly obvious, that they could not soon, if ever, reasonably aspire to be any thing more than the peasantry of the country ; and it was therefore wise policy to encourage them to remain in their present places, rather than rush into employments for which they were not qualified, and in which they must certainly fail. I do not mean to insinuate, that they are excluded by law from the highest places in society. In this respect they stand on the same level as all the other members of the community. But they cannot rise to such places without qualifications, which they do not at present possess ; but which, in the course of time, they may acquire.

A judgment may be formed of the enactments, to which I have alluded, from the following abridged specimens.

In the first place, it was provided that the slaves should remain one year after their emancipation in the places which they then occupied—that the use of their houses and little patches of ground should be continued to them ; and that they should work for their masters as they had done ; but that instead of receiving food and clothing, they should be paid for their labor in money. They were also exempted from all coercion except that of law. At the end of this year they were at liberty to seek other situations and go into other employments ; but it was provided, that when an engagement of service had been made, the laborer was not allowed to leave the place nor the employer to dismiss him, without having given a month's notice. The object of this regulation was to prevent such changes as might arise from momentary passion.

As it might be expected that the negroes, from their aversion to field labor, would prefer the employment of porters, hucksters, pedlars, etc., it was provided that all persons, who act in these capacities, should receive a regular license from the government. Of course it is in the power of government to exclude them from these situations, so far as it may be thought expedient.

Idleness and vagrancy are prohibited by an act punishing with confinement in the house of correction, and hard labor, all such as are

found to live without regular employment, and have no visible means of subsistence.

The new people are excluded from bearing arms, by a regulation which raises the military forces from those ranks and employments in society, from which their situation in life excludes them.

Laws were also made to meet all those complaints and differences, which might be expected to arise between the employer and the laborer; and also for the speedy punishment of those petty frauds, thefts, and misdemeanors, which it was supposed would be the consequence of at once setting so large a number of slaves free.

These laws, which might at first be thought minute and vexatious, are easily and promptly executed by means of a numerous and vigilant police. Justices of the peace, constables, and subordinate officers, were appointed in large numbers, and stationed in every part of the island. Indeed two or three of the most respectable negroes were appointed constables on every estate. Most of the difficulties are settled without a formal trial before a court of justice, and with but very little trouble. The more serious complaints, however, all go before a higher tribunal. About thirty officers of police have a regular salary from the government; the others receive a small fee from the parties who require their services. This arrangement is found amply sufficient to preserve the peace and good order of the island.' *Letters*, pp. 54—57.

As to the reasons which led to the adoption of the system of immediate abolition in Antigua, rather than the apprenticeship system, Prof. Hovey gives us a summary of those which are contained in the report of the joint committee of both houses of the assembly. Thus he says:

‘1. A desire to have the subject settled at once, and thus prevent future agitation.

2. An apprehension that the apprenticeship system would take away the authority of the master over the slave, without supplying in its place adequate means of controlling him.

3. Dislike to the system of stipendiary magistrates, who were to be introduced from abroad, and must, from the nature of the case, be unacquainted with the state of things in the colonies.

4. Objection to the distinction made by the abolition act between the *praedial* and non-*praedial* classes, as being founded in injustice and bad policy.

5. The peculiar preparation on the part of both planters and the slaves for immediate emancipation.

6. The comparatively high degree of intelligence and moral principle which existed among the slaves.

7. The circumstance that the lands on the island were nearly all cultivated and occupied; so that the negroes would be obliged to continue their present habits of labor, in order to procure a livelihood.

These reasons may all be comprised in two. In the first place, inherent objections to the apprenticeship system; and in the second, a

belief that the slaves at Antigua were, at that time, as well prepared for freedom, as those on most of the other islands would be in 1840, when the act provided for their entire emancipation.' *Letters*, pp. 53, 54.

Messrs. Thome and Kimball sum up their conclusions with a variety of propositions, which they support by a mass of documentary testimony from planters, missionaries, magistrates, and others. We can give merely an abstract of these propositions.

The first of these is, that "the transition from slavery to freedom is represented as a great revolution, by which a prodigious change was effected in *the condition of the negroes*." Here they quote, among others, from the Hon. Nicholas Nugent, speaker of the house of assembly, and proprietor, who says:—"There never was so sudden a transition from one state to another by so large a body of people. When the clock began to strike the hour of twelve, on the last night of July, 1834, the negroes of Antigua were *slaves*—when it ceased, they were all *freemen*! It was a stupendous change," he said, "and it was one of the sublimest spectacles ever witnessed, to see the subjects of the change engaged, at the very moment it occurred, in worshipping God."

Secondly, that the act of emancipation was the result of political and pecuniary considerations merely. At a meeting previous to the abolition of slavery, to oppose the measure, one of the chief pro-slavery men astounded his friends by proclaiming an entire change in his views. He said, "I have been making calculations with regard to the probable results of emancipation, and *I have ascertained, beyond a doubt, that I can cultivate my estate at least one third cheaper by free labor, than by slave labor.*"

Numerous testimonies are given, in which it is declared, that emancipation was chosen as the easiest plan, "as the *safest and most economic* measure," as best calculated to bind the negroes to them by the tie of gratitude. The event too passed peaceably. This is Messrs. T. and K.'s *third* proposition. We cannot here resist the wish to quote more at length. The spectacle, as it has been before said, was a most sublime one.

'For some time previous to the first of August, forebodings of disaster lowered over the island. The day was fixed! Thirty thousand degraded human beings were to be brought forth from the dungeon of slavery and "turned loose on the community!" and this was to be done "in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye."

Gloomy apprehensions were entertained by many of the planters. Some timorous families did not go to bed on the night of the 31st of July; fear drove sleep from their eyes, and they awaited with fluttering

pulse the hour of midnight, fearing lest the same bell which sounded the jubilee of the slaves, should toll the death knell of the masters.*

The more intelligent, who understood the disposition of the negroes, and contemplated the natural tendencies of emancipation, through philosophical principles, and in the light of human nature and history, were free from alarm.

To convey to the reader some idea of the manner in which the great crisis passed, we here give the substance of several accounts which were related to us in different parts of the island, by those who witnessed them.

The Wesleyans kept "watch-night" in all their chapels on the night of the 31st July. One of the Wesleyan missionaries gave us an account of the watch meeting at the chapel in St. John's. The spacious house was filled with the candidates for liberty. All was animation and eagerness. A mighty chorus of voices swelled the song of expectation and joy, and as they united in prayer, the voice of the leader was drowned in the universal acclamations of thanksgiving and praise, and blessing, and honor, and glory to God, who had come down for their deliverance. In such exercises the evening was spent until the hour of twelve approached. The missionary then proposed that when the clock on the cathedral should begin to strike, the whole congregation should fall upon their knees and receive the boon of freedom in silence. Accordingly as the loud bell tolled its first note, the crowded assembly prostrated themselves on their knees. All was silence, save the quivering half-stifled breath, of the struggling spirit. The slow notes of the clock fell upon the multitude; peal on peal, peal on peal, rolled over the prostrate throng, in tones of angels' voices, thrilling among the desolate chords, and weary heart strings. Scarce had the clock sounded its last note, when the lightning flashed vividly around, and a loud peal of thunder roared along the sky—God's pillar of fire, and his trump of jubilee! A moment of profoundest silence passed—then came the *burst*—they broke forth in prayer; they shouted, they sung, "Glory," "alleluia;" they clapped their hands, leaped up, fell down, clasped each other in their free arms, cried, laughed, and went to and fro, tossing upward their unfettered hands; but high above the whole there was a mighty sound which ever and anon swelled up; it was the utterings in broken negro dialect of gratitude to God.' pp. 144, 145.

Similar is the account by Prof. Hovey. He says:

'On the arrival of the first of August—that day so fraught with hope and bright anticipation on one hand, and fear and anxious foreboding on the other—the mighty transition from slavery to freedom was made in a manner most becoming so serious and important a transaction, and

* We are informed by a merchant of St. John's, that several American (!) vessels which had lain for weeks in the harbor, weighed anchor on the 31st of July, and made their escape, through actual fear, that the island would be destroyed on the following day. Ere they set sail they earnestly besought our informant to escape from the island, as he valued his life.

most auspicious to the future well-being of the island. When the shackles of slavery were to be unlocked, and the immense boon of freedom was to be received by one part of the population, and the hearts of the other were trembling with feverish anxiety at the result, nothing could be more fitting, than that the attention of all should be directed to that great Being, who rules the stormy tempest, and "stills the tumult of the people, and turns all hearts as the rivers of water are turned." Accordingly, as has been already intimated, the first of August was set apart by public authority, to be observed throughout the island, as a day of public thanksgiving to God, for the signal blessings which he had bestowed, and of devout supplication for his special protection and guidance in the great enterprise which then filled all minds and all hearts. When the day arrived, the churches of all the different denominations in the island were opened, and were thronged by immense crowds of all ranks and colors, who came gratefully to acknowledge to God the blessings which they had received, and humbly to implore his continued favor.

The day thus auspiciously commenced, terminated in a manner most gratifying to the friends of freedom. The emancipated people, instead of becoming frantic with joy, in the possession of their new rights and privileges, and rioting in the ebullitions of ungoverned passion, as might naturally have been expected, retired from the places of public devotion to their little tenements, without the commission of a single outrage or the least disorderly conduct. The day was characterized by the stillness and solemnity of the Sabbath, rather than by the noise, and tumult, and intoxication, which usually, on such occasions, disgrace more intelligent and civilized communities.' *Letters*, pp. 60, 61.

Messrs. Thome and Kimball proceed: "Fourth, there has been, since emancipation, not only *no rebellion in fact*, but *no FEAR OF IT*." And fifth, "There has been no fear of house-breaking, highway robbery, &c., since emancipation." As proof of this, they adduce the fact, that, contrary to the former practice, the militia was not called out during the holidays, and the uniform declarations of planters and others. The Hon. Mr. Nugent says: "There is not the slightest feeling of insecurity: quite the contrary. Property is more secure, *for all idea of insurrection is abolished forever*."

Prof. Hovey is equally explicit on this point. Thus he says:

'With the exception of two or three estates, where the negroes refused for a day or two to work, on account of an alledged insufficiency of wages, the most perfect order and tranquillity had prevailed down to the time when I visited the island. I hazard nothing in saying, that the people of Antigua are as free from any apprehensions of riot or insurrection, as is the most peaceable village in New England. The militia, which was frequently on duty during slavery, and especially on the Christmas holidays, has not been called out for the purpose of preserv-

ing the public peace, since the day of emancipation. This single fact would indicate to a West Indian, a feeling of security, which was little known in the time of slavery.' *Letters*, p. 62.

In the next proposition, they assert, that "emancipation is regarded by all classes as a great blessing." One says, "Emancipation is working admirably, especially for the planters." Another, "Our planters find that freedom answers a far better purpose than slavery ever did." This is the more remarkable, especially when the untoward circumstances of a desolating hurricane in 1835,—the first year of the new state of things,—and that the years 1836 and 1837 were years of great drought, are considered.

Seventhly, "*Free labor* is decidedly LESS EXPENSIVE than slave labor." The testimony to this point is very ample, as also to the next: "The negroes work *more cheerfully* and *do their work better*, than they did during slavery;" and this, in the language of the U. S. consul, "for the obvious reason, that they are *working for themselves*." "The negroes, too, are more easily managed as freemen, than they were when slaves." "The negroes are more *trust-worthy*, and *take a deeper interest in their employers' affairs*, since emancipation." These last propositions are also sustained by the declarations of planters of the highest respectability. One says, "We are freed from a world of trouble and perplexity." Another, "We do not have the trouble to get the people to work, or to keep them in order." "My laborers manifest an increasing attachment to the estate." There is also manifested an increasing subordination to the law. Crimes have actually diminished. The negroes also have not grown insolent with their new freedom. "Said Dr. Nugent, 'Emancipation has not produced insolence among the negroes.'" On the contrary, they are grateful, and evince an ability to take care of themselves. The low wages of the laborers; the fact, that even with these they manage to buy small parcels of land; the existence of a large number of Friendly Societies, and the sums of money contributed in them; as also the weekly and monthly contributions to their churches and schools; the increasing attention paid to the cultivation of provision-grounds; the fact, that parents husband the wages of their children, and, that the negroes are able to support their aged parents:—all these facts are considered as decisive in proof of their ability of self-support. They are also said to have visibly improved in character.

The testimony of Prof. Hovey on the preceding points is less explicit. We quote it, however, as we find it:

'It was a point of considerable difficulty and of great importance, to establish, at first, a proper rate of wages. It was desirable to adopt one, which should be permanent, or one, at least, which it should not be found necessary to lower, as such a change would no doubt create discontent. As no estate had been cultivated by free labor, and as the expenses of such cultivation were not known; and as the incomes of the estates, in consequence of the difference in the seasons, vary in no small degree in successive years, it was not easy to determine what rate the average returns of the estates would allow. It was also important, in order to prevent the temptation to change from one place to another, to which it was supposed the negroes would be greatly inclined, that the wages should be uniform on all the plantations. Accordingly a consultation was held by the planters, and a price of labor, which it was thought would be equitable to both parties, was established, not by law, but by general consent. The effect of this measure, in promoting the contentment and regular industry of the laboring classes, has been exceedingly happy. There was at first, as I before intimated, a little dissatisfaction on the part of the negroes with their compensation; but they soon perceived that their demands would be unavailing, and they went quietly to their work.

The adult laborers on the estates receive in the currency of the island 10d. per day, which is, in our currency, about 11 cents—the weeding laborers, comprising the youth from 10 to 18 years of age, have 9d. or about ten cents. The children, when they work, obtain a little compensation in provisions or something of the kind. The first rate domestics receive four dollars a month; and good mechanics a little more. * * * * But the most effectual stimulus to industry is job-work, a method by which the laborers often more than double their wages. This plan is also for the interest of the planter; inasmuch as he gets his work done in a shorter time and with less expense. I was told that the negroes, when they labor in this way, often evince an energy of character and a power of effort, of which it had been supposed they were utterly incapable.

* * * * *

There has also been a perceptible improvement in the domestic habits of the emancipated people. The Moravian missionaries early attempted to extirpate the degrading custom of concubinage. They admitted none to their communion who upheld it by their example. * * * In 1811 or 1812, the Methodist Conference in England passed an order directing their missionaries to exclude from their communion all persons who were living in a state of concubinage. The Episcopal clergy seconded these efforts; and the result was a great improvement in the state of society. * * * *

There is in all the West India islands, a large class of colored females, who are considered as having no character to gain or to lose; and who, consequently, became the ready instruments of vice. As soon as the practice of concubinage became disreputable, they were obliged to abandon their former habits and seek more respectable connexions. Through them, the white population felt the change; and

the sentiments of the whole community have been greatly purified and elevated, at least compared with what they were, and with what they still are on most of the islands. * * * *

It will appear from the above statements, that the amount of crime on the island, considering the population and the circumstances of the case, is trivial, and that the punishments are not severe.' *Letters*, pp. 62—71.

We have dwelt so long on the condition of things in Antigua, that we have comparatively a small space left us for a view of the situation of Barbadoes and Jamaica, where the apprenticeship system was in operation at the time that Prof. Hovey and Messrs. Thome and Kimball visited those islands. Our readers are aware, that its operation was far better at Barbadoes than in Jamaica. The reason is this, that more severity had been always manifested at Jamaica, and the slaves were in a more degraded condition, and a greater effort at the moral and religious improvement of the negroes had been made at Barbadoes. In both of these islands, however, according to all the testimony, the opposition to the act of parliament, had been a strong one; and it certainly evinces a very great advance, that the determination should have been taken, to follow the example of Antigua. The books before us afford us a great variety of information respecting these islands; and show us too, that notwithstanding all which has been done, much more yet remains to be done, in order that the evils of slavery should be eradicated. The first great step taken, we trust it will be followed up with corresponding endeavors to elevate the long-degraded population.

The great practical question which deserves our consideration, is,—supposing it successful, as we fully believe it will be,—How far will the experiment in the West Indies affect the subject of slavery in the United States? There are a number of considerations with regard to the West Indies, which deserve notice in this point of view.

Among these we may mention, their insular situation. This is certainly much in their favor. The inducements to undertake to escape, were they inclined to it, are lessened by the difficulty which must exist in the ocean to be traversed without a knowledge of navigation by the negroes. The southern States in our country are differently situated—an imaginary line once crossed, the slave may pass into a free State. How far therefore we can apply the case of the West Indies to the case of the southern States, admits some question—at least there must be some exceptions, till the experiment is made. We believe how-

ever that no very serious evils would result on this account. Still it must be allowed, that in this respect the West Indies were most likely to carry through the experiment without difficulty.

Again, They are under the power of the British government at home. This does not give them greater facility as to the actual operation of the Act of emancipation among themselves—but the fact of their dependence, probably had no slight influence in rendering them willing to do what they have done. The whole force of the British army or navy, could be employed to coerce their obedience; the staff in their hands was broken; the Act was passed, and in a few years every slave was to be free; they could only make a virtue of their necessity, and anticipate it by their own prudence. It seems to be the testimony of all, that from the time the question began to be seriously agitated in England, the feeling was gaining ground, that sooner or later, the end of the system of Slavery must come. We can scarcely doubt, that a similar feeling, with respect to the discussion of the subject, already pervades the bosoms of many in the South, and as more light is diffused, it must increase. It is in this point of view, the agitation of the question will be productive of good, although we cannot in every respect approve of the methods employed. Information and argument, and manly appeal must eventually have some effect.

Great numbers too of the proprietors of the estates in the West Indies resided in the mother country, and of course must have been more than usually affected by the opinions and operations at home. They could see for themselves the steadfast progress of the cause, and probably some for the first time learned by the information diffused, the evils of the system. A most respectable committee of the House of Commons had been appointed, to inquire into the system of West India Slavery, and their report, gathered from a great variety of witnesses, disclosed evils of such magnitude, that the community were roused. Men too, high in station, members of Parliament—men of the first talents and rank—former governors in the islands, were at the head of and concerned in promoting the movement. It was next to impossible, that the system could long hold out under such an influence.

The appropriation of £20,000,000 compensation money was a striking feature in the course of proceedings. This did not probably give each planter the full value of his property, as he had been accustomed to estimate it, but it was better than nothing to him; and must have tended to decrease the resistance to the measure. The form too, in which the work of eman-

cipation came before them—we mean the apprenticeship system, in securing to them their slaves for a time—deserves likewise to be taken into consideration, in contemplating the state of affairs in those islands. It is true, that this system has worked altogether different from what was anticipated, and it might have been better, had all the islands done as Antigua did—declared for immediate emancipation. Individuals among them, were desirous of such a measure, but they were over-ruled. The experiment now however has fully satisfied its former advocates, that it was an unwise course for them to adopt, and they are ready to enter heart and soul into an imitation of Antigua. Perhaps the trial of the intermediate system in the end, may be of no disadvantage, since they will have had the full conviction of its impracticability.

Another circumstance deserving notice in these islands, is the fact, that there are persons there, both colored and negroes, men of large property, and whose character stands high in the estimation of the community. They have not, indeed, been admitted to all the social privileges which are enjoyed by the whites; but their situation is very much beyond that enjoyed by persons of color in this country. It is true, that most of the colored females are degraded by the licentiousness of the whites, and the marriage tie is comparatively little known. But persons of color are found in their assembly, on the seats of justice, and in the various offices and departments of business, which they fill with equal credit with the whites. Here is a circumstance which shows a different feeling, in some respects, from what prevails in our own country. The possibility of a final entire equality of the colored class with the whites, seems to be no strange idea to the inhabitants, nor in that tropical climate is it viewed with the same disgust as in a different region. Indeed, in England the same feeling does not find place, and in this country it is, probably, mainly to be attributed to the past degradation of the colored class, which has almost blinded the view from any occasional exceptions. As to the idea of the incapacity of the negro by nature, these volumes of Messrs. Thome and Kimball and Prof. Hovey effectually refute it. We will quote here a scene or two of the higher domestic life, both of the colored and the negro:

‘By invitation we took breakfast with Mr. Joseph Thorne, whom we met at Mr. Harris’s. Mr. T. resides in Bridgetown. In the parlor, we met two colored gentlemen—the Rev. Mr. Hamilton, a local Wesleyan preacher, and Mr. Cummins, a merchant of Bridgetown, mentioned in a previous chapter. We were struck with the scientific ap-

pearance of Mr. Thorne's parlor. On one side was a large library of religious, historical, and literary works, the selection of which displayed no small taste and judgment. On the opposite side of the room was a fine cabinet of minerals and shells. In one corner stood a number of curious relics of the aboriginal Caribs, such as bows and arrows, etc., together with interesting fossil remains, partly gathered from the island, and partly from Demerara. On the tops of the book cases and mineral stand, were a number of birds of rare species, procured from the South American continent. The centre table was also ornamented with shells, specimens of petrifications, and elegantly bound books. The remainder of the furniture of the room was costly and elegant. Before breakfast, two of Mr. Thorne's children, little boys of six and four, stepped in to salute the company. They were of a bright yellow, with slightly curled hair. When they had shaken hands with each of the company, they withdrew from the parlor and were seen no more. Their manners and demeanor indicated the teachings of an admirable mother, and we were not a little curious to see the lady of whose taste and delicate sense of propriety we had witnessed so attractive a specimen in her children. At the breakfast table we were introduced to Mrs. Thorne, and we soon discovered, from her dignified air, from the chaste and elevated style of her conversation, from her intelligence, modesty and refinement, that we were in the presence of a highly accomplished lady. The conversation was chiefly on subjects connected with our missions.'

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'Mr. Joseph Thorne is a gentleman of forty five, of a dark mulatto complexion, with the negro features and hair. *He was born a slave*, and remained in that condition until about twenty years of age. This fact we learned from the manager of the Belle estate, on which Mr. T. was born and raised a slave. It was an interesting coincidence, that on the occasion of our visit to the Belle estate, we were indebted to Mr. Thorne, the former *property* of that estate, for his horse and chaise, which he politely proffered to us. Mr. T. employs much of his time in laboring among the colored people in town, and also among the apprentices on the estates, in the capacity of *lay-preacher*. In this way he renders himself very useful. Being very competent, both by piety and talents, for the work, and possessing more perhaps than any missionary, the confidence of the planters, he is admitted to many estates, to lecture the apprentices on religious and moral duties. Mr. T. is a member of the Episcopal church.' pp. 298—301.

'After what has been said in this chapter to try the patience and irritate the nerves of the prejudiced, if there should be such among our readers, they will doubtless deem it quite intolerable to be introduced, not as hitherto to a family in whose faces the lineaments and the complexion of the white man are discernible, relieving the ebon hue, but to a household of genuine unadulterated negroes. Having had a previous introduction to Mr. London Bourne, through our friend and countryman, Mr. H., we cordially accepted an invitation to breakfast with him. If the reader's horror of amalgamation does not allow him to join us at the table, perhaps he will consent to retire to the parlor,

and seat himself on the elegant sofa, whence, without fear of contamination, he may safely view us through the folding doors, and note down our several positions around the board. At the head of the table presides, with much dignity, Mrs. Bourne: at the end opposite, sits Mr. Bourne—both of the glossiest jet; the thick matted hair of Mr. B. slightly frosted with age. He has an affable, open countenance, in which the radiance of an amiable spirit, and the lustre of a sprightly intellect happily commingle, and illuminate the sable covering. On either hand of Mr. B. *we* sit, occupying the posts of honor. On the right and left of Mrs. B., and at the opposite corners from us, sit two other guests, one a colored merchant and the other a young son-in-law of Mr. B., whose face is the very double extract of blackness; for which his intelligence, the splendor of his dress, and the elegance of his manners can make to be sure but slight atonement! The middle seats are filled on the one side by an unmarried daughter of Mr. B., and on the other side by a promising son of eleven, who is to start on the morrow for Edinburgh, where he is to remain until he has received the honors of Scotland's far-famed university.' * * *

'We were highly gratified with their views of the proper way for the colored people to act in respect to prejudice. They said they were persuaded that their policy was to wait patiently for the operation of those influences which were now at work for the removal of prejudice. "*Social intercourse*," they said, "was not a thing to be gained by *pushing*." "They could not go to it, but it would come to them." It was for them, however, to maintain an upright, dignified course, to be uniformly courteous, to seek the cultivation of their minds, and strive zealously for substantial worth, and by such means, and such alone, they could aid in overcoming prejudice.' * * *

'Mr. Bourne was a slave until he was twenty three years old. He was purchased by his father, a free negro, who gave five hundred dollars for him. His mother and four brothers were bought at the same time for the sum of two thousand five hundred dollars. It was thought by the public that the master was exceedingly liberal to sell at so *low* a price. He spoke very kindly of his former master. Since Mr. B. obtained his freedom, he has been striving to make himself and his family respectable and comfortable. By industry, honesty, and close attention to business, he has now become a wealthy merchant. He owns three stores in Bridgetown, lives in very genteel style in his own house, and is worth from twenty to thirty thousand dollars. One of his stores is on the wharf, in a public, business part of the city, amid the stores of the white merchants. He is highly respected by the merchants of Bridgetown for his integrity and business talent. By what means Mr. B. has acquired so much general information we are at a loss to conjecture. Although we did not ourselves need the evidence of Mr. B.'s possessing extraordinary talents, industry, and perseverance, yet we are happy to present our readers with such tangible proofs—proofs which are read in every language, and which pass current in every nation.'

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'One of the wealthiest merchants in Bridgetown is a colored gentleman. He has his mercantile agents in England, English clerks under his employ, a branch of the establishment in the city, and superintends the concerns of an extensive and complicated business with distinguished ability and success. A large portion, if not a majority of the merchants of Bridgetown are colored. Some of the most popular instructors are colored men and ladies, and one of these ranks high as a teacher of the ancient and modern languages. The most efficient and enterprising mechanics of the city, are colored and black men. There is scarcely any line of business which is not either shared or engrossed by colored persons, if we except that of barber. *The only barber in Bridgetown is a white man.*' pp. 304—308.

The account given of Edward Jordan, Esq., editor of the Jamaica Watchman, is also interesting; but we must for it refer our readers to the book itself.

Prof. Hovey's remarks on this subject are also deserving attention. After alluding to the common opinion of the intellectual inferiority of the negro race, and the causes which have led to it, he goes on to say:

'It may, however, appear, when the wrongs of this deeply injured nation come to be redressed, that the people, who, in the opinion of Herodotus, "surpassed all the men of his time, in longevity, stature, and personal beauty;" who gave arts to Greece and instructed her philosophers in wisdom, who have left behind them, in the temples, pyramids, and mausoleums of Egypt, monuments of skill and power which have scarcely been surpassed in the improvements of succeeding ages; and who, in modern times, can boast of such men as Peyanga and Touissaint, are not the very pigmies in intellect and moral endowments, which their oppressors seem to believe. It may be, when their shackles are broken off and their minds have opportunity to expand, a deep and searching intelligence will break forth from this ill-fated people, as unexpected to their calumniators, as the physical energy which some of them in the West Indies now evince, under the impulse of their newly acquired freedom. * * *

What I saw in the West Indies in favor of the natural equality of the negroes, did not consist in any remarkable coruscations of genius; but in their rising to the level of character and attainment, when obstacles were removed, which I should expect other people, in similar circumstances, to attain; and in occasional exhibitions of native strength and force of mind, altogether superior to that of their fellows. These remarks may be illustrated, both in regard to the slaves or newly emancipated people, and the free colored and black population. * * *

If from these, we turn to the free colored and black population, we shall find still stronger evidence of a natural equality. It consists in an advancement in knowledge and mental development, corresponding with the advancement in privileges. As a class, they are by no means so respectable as the whites. Some of them are more degraded even

than the slaves; but they can number many highly esteemed and valuable citizens. It speaks much in their favor, considering the prejudices of the planters, that, in nearly every colony, they were admitted before emancipation to all the civil rights and privileges of the highest classes. They are found in the stations of mechanics, merchants, and magistrates—also as members of the Assemblies and in all the professions. Some of them are men of wealth; though they are generally employed in the lower occupations of life, where they obtain a mere competency. There are, however, fewer poor people, who depend on charity, among them, than among the whites, by three to one. They are able to carry on a profitable trade, in the various departments of industry, and successfully to compete, either in price or skill, with white people who are engaged in the same business. Some of the most respectable mechanics in Bridgetown and Kingston are negroes, who own large establishments and employ only workmen of their own color.

In addition to these facts, I may remark, that in the schools where children of all complexions met on equal terms, no difference of capacity can be perceived. I was constantly in the habit of asking the teachers whether the negro children manifested as much aptitude for learning as the others, and they invariably replied that they saw no difference. Nor do I recollect to have conversed with an intelligent man in the West Indies, who maintained that the negroes are naturally inferior to the whites; though I do not doubt that such might be found. *Letters*, pp. 200—206.

In the great question of emancipation in this country, much will depend on the demonstration of the comparative superiority of free labor to slave labor. This has indeed been given in the two States of Ohio and Kentucky, lying side by side. But in the case of the West Indies, the same thing will be evinced on the very soil once tilled by the same men as free, who were the former cultivators as slaves. We have not a doubt as to the final result. The introduction of new inventions for the tillage of the soil, and the preparations of it for use, cannot go on in any great degree, where the only laborers are slaves. Consequently, the proprietors must be deprived of all the advantages which they might derive from such a source of additional profit. But let the cultivators be instructed, and taught to understand the use of machinery, and labor will be lightened; double the amount may often be realized at the same expense. The discussion of these topics, and the diffusion of information, must exert some influence; and the time is hastening, we hope not far distant, when more than one chief man at the South will be eager to learn the best means of ridding the whole community of that evil system, which now hangs its leaden weight around their means of improvement. It is impossible, and they will soon learn it, to suppress thought, or speech, or discussion, on

the subject, at the North ; an influence will insensibly pervade the whole of the free States, and the more so, in proportion to the violence aiming to check it, which will bring out the expression of opinion, and it will be felt. We hope that it may ever be confined to all lawful methods, and we would be among the last to be guilty of taking any other course ; but it is a well-established maxim, that any cause which cannot bear the light must eventually sink before the power of truth. Nor can any thing betray so clearly the weakness of one's defense, as the effort to suppress an examination into its defects. It is impossible, that any such effort should finally be successful, for the world is moving on, and the whole tendency of its revolutions is to break down the barriers by which the freedom of man has been hedged in, and to elevate his condition in intellectual and moral supremacy. It is evident, that emancipation, in order to be effectual, must be with the consent of the masters, and that as much need exists of preparation on their part as on that of the slaves. Care ought therefore to be taken not wilfully to irritate their feelings, but, on the contrary, every thing should be done to open their eyes both to the injustice and the impolicy of continuing a system which deprives man, born in the image of God, of the high privilege for which he was designed, of preparing for an eternal world of bliss. The time is coming, when the page of history, as it is read by generations now unborn, will seem almost too strange to be credited, and not the least among those marvels will be the fact, that the serious attempt should have been made to justify by the word of God, as though it were a real blessing, the system of American slavery. The voice of a mighty people has been uttered, proclaiming the jubilee for their enslaved ones, and the echoes of that decree shall be heard returning from beyond the ocean, from our own land, and the loud acclaims of other nations shall swell high in the triumph of Britain's exultation, that the bands of African slavery are forever broken. May no prejudice ever debar us from the preparation of heart thus to mingle our gratitude with that of myriads ; may no unholy feeling ever prompt us to retard that hastening hour—but may the tendency of our pages always be to convince every mind, and urge to just views and righteous action !

ART. VIII.—DR. HUMPHREY'S FOREIGN TOUR.

*Great Britain, France, and Belgium: a Short Tour in 1835.*By HEMAN HUMPHREY, D. D., President of Amherst College.
In two volumes. Amherst: J. S. & C. Adams. 1838.

WRITERS of travels may be distributed into two classes. The one is the journalist, who gives off the impressions which are made on his own mind in their original shape and order. He makes himself the focus of interest; the medium of observation and feeling to the reader. You wait on his motions; tread in his steps; see through his eyes; hear with his ears; think and feel only in sympathy with him. He is the mirror from which, reflected, you see the various objects which come under his notice. His prominent, ostensible aim, is gratification. If he instruct, inform, it is only subordinate; or, at least, it is but the covert aim. Hence the only limits which bound this species of writing, are those on the outside of which lie fatigue and disgust. He may be pathetic or didactic, descriptive or argumentative. He may be sober or merry, playful or earnest. He may indulge in fancy or in sentiment, play the poet or the philosopher, the politician or the moralist, and "all by turns," if "neither long." His method is the strict order of events. His book is but the transcribed record of his own thoughts and feelings, referred always to the place and time of their occurrence. He, consequently, can be no "traveler at home." He must have been personally on the spot; must have had opportunities for seeing, observing, noting, and have improved them. He may, indeed, revise his note-book. He may, in his library, correct, within certain limits, his first impressions, or throw around them newly gathered historic interest. But his book must be, in the main, a transcript of actual impressions, or it loses its character.

The other class are of a very different stamp. They are the cold generalizers of facts; the careful adjusters of results. They deal only with the abstract. There is no living bond of connection between you and the objects which they describe. In studying them, you lay the observer out of view. You have no chance to sympathize with him. He is, indeed, to all intents and purposes, as if he were not. These writers have for their object instruction. Interest is merely subordinate. Their method must be the strictly philosophical method, which the subject naturally indicates. They take no note of time or

place. As their books are but balance-sheets of results, designed to set forth facts in a clear and compendious view, they must first carefully analyze and classify; then draw their lines both of general and particular division; and finally refer each separate topic to its proper page and column. Hence, after making their personal observations, they may plant themselves in their libraries, spread out around them their stores of collected mementoes—whether in the shape of antiquities, specimens in natural history, or of views, costumes, and products of art—gather about them all the manifold sources of information, and with the hints and guides furnished by their own observations, proceed to their work of arranging and expressing on paper.

The theoretical distinction between these classes is obvious. They may, indeed, possess some common features. The two species of writing may run into each other. Different writers may exhibit more or less of the peculiar characteristics which distinguish them. Yet to disregard the distinction, to write now in one character and then in the other, is to confound and perplex. The reader will have no clue readily guiding him from one part to another of the book; and will lose all the aid and pleasure of association, as well in originally apprehending as in subsequently recollecting. If the work be not a mere jumble of attached essays, of unconnected fragments; if there be in it that connection which a book presupposes, then the law of connection must be one of the two we have specified.

The work before us originally appeared in the form of letters, addressed to the editors of the *New York Observer*, and published in that paper, at successive intervals, from January, 1836, to March, 1838. Preparatory to the present publication, it underwent a hasty revision by the author, in which the weekly letters of the newspaper were transformed into the chapters of a book—not so perfectly, however, as to leave all traces of their original form.

It is the result, or, shall we better say, the consequence of a tour in Great Britain, France, and Belgium, in the summer of 1835. The author left New York on the 24th of March, arrived at Liverpool on the 18th of April, and sailed from that port, on his return home, on the 8th of September, having spent nearly five months on foreign shores. Of this, all but about three weeks, seem to have been passed in Great Britain.

Dr. Humphrey possesses some of the most important desiderata in a traveler who does not intend to keep to himself his ideas and pleasures. You see every where on his pages the marks of guileless simplicity and candor. The most striking

exhibitions of his perfect artlessness are in the frequent expressions of surprise at finding himself in such strange scenes ; of doubts whether it be not all delusion—a dream. “Is that St. Paul’s cathedral?” he exclaims in London ; “and am I actually here, on Black Friar’s Bridge, to gaze at it?” Vol. i. p. 115. “And is it a dream, a vision of the night?” is his exclamation again on waking in Paris, “or am I really in that great city?” Vol. ii. p. 300. The same unaffected simplicity shows itself, also, in his mode of observing. He wants to look and look again—from this side and that side—to satisfy himself, that it is not all a fairy trance.

Conjoined with this, is the most thorough accuracy. What he sees he sees. He does not content himself with half a sight. He waits in the posture of attention till the full impression is made. He suffers also the true impression to be freely made, without interposing previous opinion, prejudice, self-conceit, or other disturbing emotions. Not that he is positively and absolutely perfect in this respect. We think he has sometimes shown the effect of previous expectations, in too much heightening or too much depressing his views of objects. For a single instance, in his description of the wild pass of the Trossachs, in the Scottish highlands, (vol. i. pp. 120—123,) it seems to us, that he has either mistaken imagination for memory, or has seen with the eyes of poetry, or of romance, and not with those of truth. According to our estimate of natural sublimity and beauty, many a scene in his own native state corresponds much more nearly with the extravagant terms of his high-wrought description. We cannot but believe, that he was at the time under the potent sway of Sir Walter Scott’s magic pen, which has raised every trifling object in this region into importance, and made every rock, tree and hill, a monument.

The same admirable traits, not less indicative of moral than intellectual excellence, show themselves when he transcribes on paper his impressions. There is nothing strained, nothing overdrawn, nothing given as observed which is merely imagined. So that you are led to put the most implicit confidence in his statements and his descriptions. In this respect, so unlike some that have followed him, you suffer him to take your hand and lead you at his will, over the scenes of his travels, listening to every word he utters as oracular.

Dr. H. excels in painting natural scenery, and in observing and noting moral features. He shows little taste for the arts. Architectural beauties, the wondrous creations of the pencil and the chisel, so profusely scattered in the old world, engage little

of his attention. The following description of his visit to Ben Lomond, is graphic in the highest degree :

'The distance to the highest point was between five and six miles. We advanced from height to height, under a clear sky—but there lay a cloud on the summit above us, like the smoke of a vast furnace. Half a mile below the summit, we entered the skirt of the cloud, and so fast did its density increase as we advanced, that when our guide shouted to us from the flag-staff, though scarcely fifty feet in advance, we could not see him.

And now for the reward of all our toil. Though actually between three and four thousand feet above the lake, we might just about as well have been in a dungeon. We stood shivering in the very center of the damp and impenetrable darkness. How long must we wait for the cloud to move? We sheltered ourselves, as well as we could, from the piercing wind, under the lee of the rocks, till hope was almost gone, and we began to think of bending our steps again towards the world below, when for an instant, a corner of the great curtain was rent, and we caught a glimpse of the precipice, said to be *two thousand feet high*, on the brink of which we stood! It was but a glimpse, and we were again enveloped in darkness. In a moment or two, another fitful opening, like a brilliant flash of lightning, revealed to us the outline of the mountains, beyond Loch Katrine, with all the intervening valleys and waters. And now, we were all on the tiptoe of mute and breathless expectation. There was another flash of sunlight, and another, and still another—now on the right hand, now on the left—at one moment on Loch Lomond, and the next upon Benledi. These momentary gleams and flashes, so inexpressibly beautiful, were soon succeeded by wider views, still more brilliant and glorious. New objects caught and ravished the eye every instant, till the whole cloud, broken into illuminated masses, sailed away across Loch Lomond, and being attracted by the opposite mountains, hung for a while upon their summits, like the smoke of so many volcanoes, and then vanished like the mist of the morning.

The effect was overpowering. It was enchantment—it was magic—it was more. It was a new creation springing into existence before our ravished eyes. And such a creation, too, extending almost from the Irish Sea to the German Ocean. Loch Katrine, Loch Venacar, [Venachar?] Loch Auchray, [Achray?] Benledi, Benann and Benvenue, all were there. Loch Lomond, with its thirty beautiful islands, lay at our feet; and stretching away to the west and north, there was a stormy sea of mountains, not lying in long ranges, and wooded, as in this country, but conical and bald; each resting upon its own independent base, as if it were the very battle-field of the angels.' Vol. ii. pp. 126—128.

The work is replete with moral reflections, as just, for the most part, as suitable and pleasing. Indeed, the true spirit of the enlightened christian shines pre-eminent throughout. The moral and religious effect must be universally happy.

There is, also, interspersed, particularly in the more strictly narrative part, a sufficiency of sprightliness and humor, and occasionally we hit upon some broad strokes of wit.

The style is in other respects simple, plain, and perspicuous. Imagery, bold and rich, is not wanting, however. For the most part, for a hasty composition, it is used with great propriety and effect. We are occasionally lost, as when we read of "the shifting hues of emerald waters, as they sparkle beneath the purest frost-work!" Vol. i. p. 11.

We cannot but regret the introduction of so many quotations from the scriptures; and that on every occasion, no matter what the subject, no matter what the train of thought, whether of a purely religious, moral, political, or literary bearing, whether speaking of the majesty of the ocean or the pauperism of Ireland, of the schools of Scotland or the hospitals of Paris, the literary merits of Walter Scott or the military renown of Napoleon, of the royal palaces of Edinburgh or the gardens of the king of France, the language of the scriptures is foisted in, often, it would seem, only to "turn a phrase" or "round a period." Such an excessive use of scriptural language, and on ordinary, nay, light occasions, lowers the dignity of the bible. We may allow much, in the present case, to professional habits. But the farmer, when he mounts Pegasus, must leave his plow behind. The fault is a fault by whomsoever committed; and therefore the proper subject of censure. We feel ourselves constrained to protest against this turning of the bible into a common classic—to be resorted to on any occasion for striking figures or pithy expressions, merely for ornament or force. Aside from this, the so frequent allusion to the bible, on all occasions, in the work under notice, considered in a merely literary point of view, is in bad taste.

In the general arrangement of the work we find still more to censure. It observes neither of the laws specified in our introductory observations, and is attended with all the defects there intimated. You have just enough of the journalizing traveler, recording the actual impressions made upon his mind by present scenes and objects, to excite the desire and raise the expectations of more, which remain ungratified and disappointed, and just enough to spoil all relish for the long, tedious chapters of general observations and statistical summaries. True, a man can see but little in five months' time, that is new and interesting, especially in scenes so familiar, so frequently described. Perhaps he may find it difficult to gather materials for a work of six or seven hundred pages, if he is not permitted to call to

his aid guide-books and travels, geographies and histories, reports and reviews. What then? Sacrifice interest and fill your volumes? Or diminish your sheets and get the hearty thanks of your readers? The letters were well enough in this respect, while confined to a weekly newspaper. Appearing at such intervals, the reader does not care for a very great degree of unity or closeness of connection between the different letters. They may take the form of disconnected essays, in which unity and method are not so indispensable. But we look for something more in a book. A volume suggests the idea of permanence—how mocked, indeed, in these days of ephemeral authorship; and for permanence are needed care, labor, pains. We justly demand, therefore, plan, order, method. In a newspaper, made only to be taken up, glanced over, and laid aside, the author might properly appear this week as a traveler and the next as a moralist; in this number speak as a present eyewitness and the next as a secluded philosopher, speculating gravely on topics furnished by other hands. Not so in a volume. Here we require consistency. We cannot either always bear in mind, that Dr. H. wrote originally for a periodical, and probably without any intention of giving permanence and body to his weekly effusions. We experience the positive evils of this defect in reading the volumes in course. We put ourselves under the conduct of our author, and travel on, letting our eye rest on object after object as he points them out to our view. We proceed thus very understandingly and pleasantly for a while, but all at once we are bidden to leap over mountains and rivers, provinces and almost whole kingdoms, and take a view here and then again there; and from this we shrink. We can not find our way; we know not where we are; we are lost. Now in a book of travels we want to follow the author. We want to know how he gets from place to place; the time and distance and bearing. Here lies the charm of a book of travels in a country with which we are made somewhat familiar by the accounts of frequent travelers; for it is only in the common incidents, the little details, that we can find novelty or variety. He must, therefore, observe times and places; in short, assume the forms of sensible life, or we lose sight of him. He becomes a cold, dead abstraction, and we take no more interest than we do in reading in course a gazetteer or a geography. It is only in this way, that the chain of association is preserved whole. This chain, much to our annoyance, is continually broken in the work before us. We meet our author, for instance, at Glasgow. We gather from him, that he spends a day

or two in sight-seeing here, and sets out for the Highlands ; and rest content with this. But ere long we find he has given us the slip, and in an almost incredibly short space of time has crossed the Irish channel, attended a meeting of the British Association at Dublin, explored that city, visited the north-eastern part of the Emerald Isle, made a tour to the Giant's Causeway, and is back at Glasgow, and all at some time between the 12th and 26th of the same month. How all this may be we certainly should be much gratified to know, and feel disappointed in not being informed. Well, we pocket this disappointment and proceed to Stirling ; and, by the way, we wonder where the power of association lay asleep, when the heights of Stirling castle-hill—where the eye rests on those almost sacred spots, sacred indeed to liberty ; where Wallace encamped with his little army, on Abbey Craig, awaiting Surrey's formidable assault, where the Forth drank in proud Cressingham's troops, where Bruce, too, fought at Bannockburn, and where Scot and Southron so often, in so many different yet neighboring scenes, strove for mastery and freedom—stirred up no noble fervor, no generous enthusiasm. We accompany our author through the Trosachs, across Lochs Katrine and Lomond, and to the summit of Ben Lomond ; but we have hardly had time to enjoy with him the lovely, ravishing scenery spread out around him there, when we are violently thrust upon the falls of the Clyde, some fifty or sixty miles distant. And why this violent leap ? Has Loch Lomond no charms for his eye ? Has he no fancy for her lovely islets, covered with beauty, so prodigally dropped on her placid bosom ? Have none of the rich associations that cluster around her shores attractions for him ? Did he, in fact, soar away from Lomond's top on those bright clouds that from it took their morning flight, and alight on the bank of the Clyde just where the river makes its mighty leaps down precipitous rocks ; or did he take the less poetic course of toiling down the mountain's weary side, and then in steamer, coach, and steamer again, passing down the lake to Balloch, along the Leven to Dumbarton, and thence up the Clyde back to Glasgow ? We suspect the latter ; and if he had left sufficient traces of his course, we would most gladly have followed him to New Lanark, or to Liverpool. But as it is we lose him, and we lay down the book till we need a reference to a gazetteer. We give these as illustrations of the character of the work in this respect. The writer drops his reader ; and of consequence the latter loses his interest in the writer.

This effect of wearisomeness is produced in a still greater degree by the insertion of long chapters of general observations on character, habits, &c., &c. That a great mass of interesting, valuable facts, is collected in these volumes, is true. We object not to the facts; but to the place into which they are collected, and the method of arrangement. With the exception of a very little, perhaps, which might properly find a place in an appendix, all that is valuable in these facts might very naturally be interwoven into the narrative. The reader would then take them as the results properly incidental to a tour of intelligent observation. The interest of the narrative would be extended into them, and all would be read with increased pleasure and profit. But to take up more than half the work with such abstract matter, unavoidably produces fatigue and wearisomeness. It generates the suspicion, whether well-founded or not, that these chapters are labored in to patch out a volume. The mind can hardly resist the impression, that they are the product of domestic study and not the result of foreign observation; and a book of travels, got up at home by the aid of itineraries, periodicals, and histories, will be a drug in the market. It would be like an Apollo pieced out of fragments of many different statues. For a newspaper the letters answer very well. For a volume they need re-arranging and re-writing, to be caught up among the first from the multitude of *Tours and Travels in Europe*, that now lie on the booksellers' shelves.

We should be glad to quote some of the many just and important observations made by the author on subjects brought to his notice in the course of his travels. The love of the useful, we use the term in no contracted sense, predominates in the author's character. His heart is set on the good of his species. Hence his observations, characterized as they are by sound sense and penetrating sagacity, are worthy of attentive regard. We can only particularize those which relate to the laying out of towns and villages, the ornamenting of dwellings and yards, the management of farms, and the regulation of health.

The reader will find in the work much interesting information on some particular topics. He must not expect the interest of a continued and well-sustained narrative. He will, on the other hand, be constantly regretting, that one who possesses in so high a degree the qualities needful for producing such a work, as sound sense, lively sensibilities, accuracy of observation, a clear and simple style, and moreover, a highly cultivated religious sentiment, should not have confined himself more to

the narrative. He must not expect, on the other hand, a full, perfect, methodical view of the physical, political, social, moral and religious condition of Great Britain, much less of France and Belgium. Some features in such a general view he will find well delineated.

We cannot close without expressing our severe reprobation of the typographical character of the work. You can hardly open its leaves without having your eye rest on some flagrant error in orthography or punctuation. Quotation marks are half omitted, hyphens left out, sentences distorted and mangled by misplaced stops, syllables are split at the ends of lines, and to the mis-spellings there is no end. These errors are often so great as to affect the sense, and shake your confidence in the accuracy of the statement, especially where figures are introduced. Names of places are so disfigured, that you are at a loss to recognize them. We are obliged to stop and ponder long, for instance, whether Corisbroke is our familiar Carisbrook; and through defective punctuation and false orthography, even a Parisian might stumble on *Mont Matre Pere La Chaise*. He knows his own Montmartre, and his Père Lachaise, but what does this barbarous phrase denote? And how shall the chimist recognize the well-known Daubeny in the uncouth Danberry? Surely we have a right to expect better things of a press in the literary atmosphere of Amherst.

ART. IX.—THE PROGRESS OF THEOLOGICAL SCIENCE SINCE THE REFORMATION.

WE are not without apprehension, that the language in which this subject is announced, will, however without any fault of its own, convey to some minds an idea altogether different from what we intend to express. It would seem, indeed, that no one could doubt the possibility of such a thing as progress in theological science; or consider it as trenching on the borders of unwarrantable assumption, to intimate, that within a given period, this science has actually made some advances—yet we are continually reminded, not to presume too much in this matter. The suspicion is frequently excited, when we speak of improvements in theology, that we contemplate some improvement in truth *itself*. We are gravely told, that we can not make a new bible—that God will not alter his revelations

to accommodate man ; and in the same breath, as if the proposition were identical with the former, that there can absolutely be no advances in theology, that Augustine and the Reformers settled every thing, and it is folly to think of the least improvement on any of their views. We wish, therefore, to be indulged with a brief definition of terms, in order that we may go on to treat somewhat of the subject above indicated, without liability to the strange charge of supposing, that new truth can be made, or old truth unmade—neither of which, notwithstanding our extreme simplicity, do we happen to believe.

Theology is often used in the same sense as the phrase *divine truth*. As thus used, it designates the truth itself, objectively considered. In this sense we say, of course, that no advance can be made in theology. Essential truth—that which the bible calls, by way of unapproachable pre-eminence, *the truth*, ἡ ἀληθεια—is necessarily fixed beyond the possibility of change. Like God himself, its author and revealer, it is the same, yesterday, to-day, and forever—incapable of increase or diminution. Human invention can not add to it ; human spoliation can not make it less. It would be the same if every created intelligence in the universe were blind to its glories. New divine truth there cannot be. It is as old as eternity. From everlasting it has stood, in its living forms, before the infinite mind. It is as unchangeable as the throne of heaven. We might as well speak of a short eternity—weak omnipotence—as of new truth, or of new theology, if by theology be meant *divine truth* itself. Taking the word theology in this sense, it were as proper and as christian-like to tell us, as if out of bowels of compassion for our blind temerity, that we can not make a new sun, or a new Jehovah, as that we can not make any advances in theology. Is it seriously supposed, that we deem ourselves, or any human being, endowed with the power, to change, to add to, to diminish, aught of the truth of God ?

But the word theology may be, and is most commonly used to mean *human views* and *statements* respecting divine truth. It is of course in this sense, and this only, that we hold theology to be susceptible of improvement. To assert, that no advance can be made in theology, meaning by the term men's apprehensions and statements concerning the truth of God itself, is ascribing perfection of knowledge, not to God, but to man. It is not exalting the revelation—it is not placing the bible far away beyond all reach and possibility of improvement. It is exalting imperfect and erring man's views and explanations of it. To deny that theology, in this sense, can be im-

proved, is to rob ourselves, and our age, and all following ages, and God himself, of the supreme glory of his wisdom, in order to enrich the men of generations gone by, who were as much dust and ashes as we are. It is glorifying the creature, not the Creator—yea, glorifying the creature at the Creator's expense—exalting, as the case may be, Augustine and the Reformers, not the omniscient God. It is not asserting, that no man can manufacture truth, which none but the most perverted understanding can for a moment dream to be possible—but that none can know more of it than certain who have gone before us. It is ascribing inspiration, not to Paul and David and Isaiah, but to men who themselves, if good, would have thought it sacrilege to lay the slightest claim to the hallowing touch of the Spirit. It is a scheme which makes the truth and perfection of an opinion out of its antiquity—which will have it that the only idea of progress possible to man, is that of an effort to return to what has been. In the sense of the term theology now explained, we do suppose that advances may be made in theology—that one generation may know more of it than another, or may state it better.

If progress may be made in men's views and modes of stating divine truth, much more may it be made in theological science, properly so called, in distinction from theology. In the sense just unfolded, theology is a human statement respecting the fundamental doctrines of God's word. Theological science respects the *rationale* or philosophy of those doctrines. Its aim is to explain the *why* and *wherefore* of those great revealed facts, which constitute essential truth. That there are objects to occupy such a science, there cannot be the shadow of a doubt. The distinction between the grand revealed facts, or fundamental doctrines of the bible, and any and every explanation of them, is perfectly plain. No distinction can be plainer. Take an instance: The doctrine of the saints' perseverance is a cardinal doctrine of the gospel. It is a grand revealed fact, that all who are ever converted will finally be saved—will persevere to the end, and enter the realms of glory. This is one thing; and every attempt to explain the reason why the fact is thus, is altogether another. The doctrine is held alike by all orthodox christians; but they may give different reasons for it. One ascribes the saints' perseverance to something in the nature of moral principle, either sinful or holy, which tends to secure the perpetuity of that principle. Another ascribes it to the supposed fact, that God has pledged himself to create the exercises of a new heart in all that were ever re-

newed, unto the end, and that there is no tendency in moral action, or principle, to perpetuate itself. It is obvious, that these and all attempts to explain the philosophy of the saints' perseverance, are totally distinct from the doctrine itself. Not that the true philosophy of that doctrine is of no consequence to its standing or falling. Far from it. The doctrine could not stand without a foundation. But it is entirely distinct from any and every foundation that man has invented, or will invent, for its support. It has a true foundation. God sees it. Man may not have seen it. It is not indispensable, that man should see it, in order that the doctrine should do its intended work upon him. It is only necessary, that christians should know simply the fact. They need not know even the true philosophy of it—at least, not indispensably. They may hold the head, on this part of divine truth, and yet hold a wrong philosophy of it. Let us at once illustrate this point, and the distinction just attempted to be drawn between revealed doctrines of the bible and any or all modes of accounting for them:—The sun is the source of light. Here is a fact. Light comes from the sun by *undulation*. Here is a *theory* to account for the fact, entirely distinct from the fact itself. Heat and moisture sustain vegetable life. Any and every attempt to explain the process by which heat and moisture contribute to the support of vegetable life, is entirely distinct from the fact itself. Thus the facts of natural philosophy—its principal and obvious phenomena—are of one kind; its theories, or modes of explaining these facts, are entirely of another; and a philosopher may hold the right doctrine respecting the origin or source of light, who gives the wrong account of its propagation to us. He may even give a theory of its propagation to us, which, if true, would subvert the great fact itself, and yet believe the fact as firmly as any. Just so, in our view, is the mass of revealed truths—those which constitute the essence of revelation—distinct from the mass of theories devised to account for them—distinct even from the true philosophy, without which they could not stand; so distinct, that there may be a correct theology with a wrong philosophy. This mass of theories constitutes what we call, if they are correct, a theological science, in distinction from theology. It is the philosophy of theology. It is of man; while theology, in the sense first explained, is of God. It is in the philosophy of theology, or theological science, as now interpreted, that we suppose the proper field for effort to advance the cause of theological truth to lie. It is true there may be improvement in the modes of stating the cardinal doctrines of the

gospel, in theology understood in the last explained sense of the term. But it is mainly, beyond all question, in the philosophy of theology, that the proper field of theological improvement lies. Here, and not in any vain attempts or thought of making a new bible, do we place it.

Under some, but a limited diversity of statement, there has ever been agreement among the pious of earth respecting the fundamental doctrines of the gospel and of the bible,—that practical theology which, so far as truth is concerned, is the foundation, the ground-work, of piety and holiness, is the same every where, in all good men, let them belong to what church or denomination they may. It could not be otherwise. By those doctrines, by the word of God, they are all alike begotten again to a lively hope; and by those same doctrines, their new and spiritual life, hid with Christ in God, is alike preserved and maintained. Such effects could not be produced by the truths of the gospel, unless understood. Such similarity of effects, through all the ranks of the renewed on earth, could not be without a similarity in their understanding of these truths. We can hardly bring ourselves to believe, that a real christian was ever left habitually to reject or doubt any essential truth of the bible. We are slow to think, that a christian at heart can be a heretic in his understanding. That is misplaced and perverted charity, in our view, which has compassion and good will, and christian regard for heresy itself, but pours its indignation and wrath, without mixture, on every tendency to it—which holds it to be better directly to subvert or deny the acknowledged foundations of the gospel, than to hold opinions whose real but unsuspected tendency is to undermine them—which would fellowship Voltaire rather than Origen, and Socinus rather than Arminius. There can not be a christian who is not grounded in that which the bible calls *the* truth—who does not know, and knowing, love and obey it. Similar is the testimony of observation. Wherever you meet a pious heart, there you meet an understanding which receives and feeds upon the distinctive doctrines of God's word. No where do you see a consistent, genuine christianity, beyond the limits of a pure, practical theology. You find no mixture of piety, warm from the heart, and active in the life, with radical error. When you meet a man whose soul is instant in prayer, fixed, stereotyped in the act of supplication, whose mind dwells in the midst of things unseen and eternal, whose active powers are given to the cause of men's salvation and the glory of the Lord, then you find one who does not believe, that all are to be

saved—who does not think, that any will repent without the influences of that Spirit whose descent he invokes—who feels, that to himself and others there is no ray of hope beaming from any quarter on his prospects for the favor of God in time and eternity, save from the cross of Christ. Just as religion is the same in all places of God's dominion—in the angel that bows before the throne, and in the saint that worships on the footstool—just as one principle unites all the holy, every where, dwell they on earth, or in heaven, so must the *faith* of all be essentially the same. The objective matters of belief must coincide. The truths, which contemplated by angel-eyes, produce joy and love and swift obedience there, are substantially the same with those that produce similar effects in their brethren here below.

But while there is this uniformity in what we may call the ground-work of holiness every where; while there is one faith, essentially, to all the holy throughout the universe; yet there may be, and is, an infinite diversity of philosophical views. Not one of the cardinal doctrines of the bible but has experienced a variety of fortune, in regard to the manner in which it has been stated and defended. The field which we term the *philosophy of theology*, is such, that men's opinions will vary interminably, while knowledge in part continues to be a law of their condition. It is a field, properly, of human, not of divine, knowledge. God has not seen fit to pour the same clear and full light of certainty on it, as he has poured on the domains of strict theology. He has left men to their common sense; and is to be vindicated from any blame for the injurious errors, that may have incidentally flowed from his having done so, in the same manner as from the blame of any erroneous system of natural philosophy, or moral, or political science. God may as well be faulted for the follies and mistakes of men, in these latter departments of knowledge, as for their follies and mistakes in the philosophy of theology; and it might as well have been expected, that a revelation from him would be a perfect encyclopedia of all knowledge possible to man, the statements of which would be clear beyond all possibility of misconception, as that it could be perfect and full on the philosophy of theology. The truth is, that the principles of theological science are every where pre-supposed in the bible. The spirit of inspiration passes them over as themes on which revelation is unnecessary—but unnecessary not because men will not err, but because, err as they may here, if they err not elsewhere, it will not be fatal to their souls, and because it were beneath the dignity of reve-

lation to be occupied with theories so simple as these. It does not admit of a doubt, that much error in theological science, though injurious in one or another degree, to him who holds it, and to others, is yet consistent with a right heart and a sound practical theology. A person may reject, as we have remarked, the true theory of a natural phenomenon, as that of light, and substitute a false one in its place, without in the least doubting that the sun is the original source of light; and a great diversity of opinion among philosophers, as to the mode of its transmission from the sun, is consistent with entire agreement as to the main fact. Diversity of opinion does prevail on that point, in entire consistency with agreement in the main fact. So in multitudes of instances does extensive disagreement among philosophers, in respect to *theories*, prevail, yet consistently with entire accordance as to the *facts* which those theories are brought forward to explain. So, too, may immense error and diversity of opinion prevail among theologians and christians, respecting *theories*, by which the fundamental doctrines are attempted to be explained, and all this consistently with perfect accordance in these *doctrines* themselves. No diversity of opinion, in regard to philosophical theories, should divide christians from one another. No errors here should bring any one under an anathema. Provided the great revealed facts be held fast, the ground of fellowship and christian confidence remains. No "doubtful disputation" should embarrass him who thus holds the head from which flows the life and soul of essential christianity. He is the infidel, the heretic, who rejects the revealed facts. He who rejects a given philosophy of any of those facts which man has invented, does but assert the right to think for himself, where the supreme authority of clear revelation has not decided. It is preposterous to exclude from cordial fellowship any, simply because they reject a particular philosophy of the doctrines of the bible, as it is no less so to extend such fellowship to those who reject any of these doctrines themselves. If agreement in *theories* were the test of soundness in the faith, and the rule of christian fellowship, there would be no end of the process of challenging. The church would be broken up into small parties, as numerous as its theologians of any note. No longer would there be one faith; no longer one community. Torn into factions, whose watch-word would be the motto of their philosophical schemes, the church would have no more of harmony than the world. Its history would thenceforth be a statement, who was of Paul, who of Apollos, and who was of Cephas; ending with the melancholy annunciation, that none were of Christ.

It is, then, mainly in theological *science*, that we suppose there is room for difference of opinion among those who are alike christians; room for the existence of error without its implying want of soundness in the faith, or of vital piety; room for improvement, therefore, till that which is in part shall be done away. Reasoning analogically from the progress of knowledge in general, we should be prepared to expect, that in this field likewise some fruit had been gathered. One science never advances alone. It is not the habit of the human mind to push its advances in one of its fields of knowledge, and not, at the same time, in all the rest. A communion and co-partnership binds the sciences together; their gains are the gains of all—their losses are the losses of all. Their gains may not be equal, yet will all truly gain. Shed light on one of the proper domains of the mind, and that, reflected, illumines portions of the rest. At the Reformation, knowledge was beginning to be greatly increased. It was the period for a general advance of the human mind—of a general impulse, which has been propagated from age to age, down to this day. Now, would it not be reasonable to suppose, that just as theological science partook of the benefits of the first revival of knowledge—shared to the full the movements of that great impulse—so it has still advanced continually, keeping pace with sister sciences, enlarging its borders as they enlarged theirs, correcting its bearings and distances as they corrected theirs? From the *commune vinculum* of the sciences can we infer less than this? Out of blind deference for the Reformers, shall we insist on believing, that they placed the *science* of theology, properly so called, beyond all reach of improvement? The *doctrines* of the Reformation stand from everlasting to everlasting. But shall we impose on ourselves so much as to believe, that the *philosophy* of the Reformers, too, so far as they had any, which was not far, in like manner stands and is to stand, forever; that God, in complaisance to them, has incorporated their speculations into his eternal truth, and made it alike unchangeable and unimprovable? Such a supposition does no honor to them. It adds no stability to that—the stability of which needs and permits no addition—the *theology of the Reformation*.

But if analogy will not suffice on this point, let us call in the faith of history. Its unquestioned and unquestionable testimony is, that the scholastic philosophy, though scathed, was not killed at the Reformation. In the onset of Luther and Calvin upon the powers that were, it was stunned, and seemed for a while to be dead. Calvin had little, Luther no friendship for

it ; they left it for dead, cast out, rejected, on the field of battle. In this they did wisely ; as wisely as some of their helpers and successors did foolishly. The scholastic philosophy was revived by the very men whose fathers supposed they had given it its death-wound. It was brought in from the field, and such breath of life as could be was breathed in among the dry bones ; it was made to stand on its feet, and though dead the scepter of dominion over all living things was put again into its hands, and it was called upon to lead the war against the beast and his prophets. As if that dead, eyeless, soulless, senseless, unmoving skeleton, of pagan Aristotle, could help along the ark of the living God, in its return to his holy temple ! As if that philosophy which had, beyond all manner of question, wrought out and brought in Popery, and made her empress of nations' consciences, would, after its proper and natural death, assist mightily the sacramental host of God's elect in their conflict, and work out and bring in for them, in like manner, complete success against that mother of abominations. Yet all this, most preposterous as it was, was expected. If history is to be trusted in aught of its testimony, it is to be trusted on these points : that the scholastic philosophy, whatever may be said of its modifications, as age after age of its unexampled career rolled away, was mainly built upon the heathen Aristotle ; that, though it furnished a sort of *palæstra* for the mind, it was nevertheless, as a whole, useless, a blind guide, a perverse disputer, a dreamer of empty dreams ; that, while it lived its proper life, it was the devoted, humble servant and most prompt and efficient supporter of the church of Rome ; that this church has never yet discarded her favorite ally. A philosophy of this character was called into the service of the reformed theology, by the successors of Luther and Calvin, and the office of explaining and defending that theology was committed to its trust. As full and plain is the testimony of history to the fact, that this philosophy exerted a most corrupting influence on theology, rendering its statements, instead of scriptural, dry and technical, and putting theories of man's invention in the place of the truths of the bible. Now this philosophy, in its distinct form, has, in the progress of theological science, been universally given up by Protestants. Will it be questioned whether this is real gain ? Will it be said, that the restoration of this philosophy to its influence on theology, would be advantageous to the latter ? None will say it. Here, then, is an undeniable instance of the actual progress of theological science. A great part, indeed, of all

that has been gained to this science, has been by the expulsion of the so-called Aristotelian philosophy from its throne of dominion over men's opinions.

But it is not all, that this philosophy is extinct. In its place a new and correct mode of philosophizing has been introduced, the influence of which has been felt over the whole circle of human knowledge. Bacon has the chief praise, certainly, of having taught men better than they knew before, how to discover truth. His *method* has a practical, common-sense character, which could not limit its influence to men's investigations in natural science. He who was led by the new Baconian philosophy, to begin at the beginning instead of the end, in natural science, and follow on the evidence of observed facts, would not and could not well avoid carrying the same habit of investigation into the field of theological science. The same great principles could not but be observed to be equally applicable to both. The philosophy of Bacon is indeed universal in its application. Its spirit is essentially diffusive, penetrating. Its rise, therefore, and introduction to general use, is to be regarded as having been an era, as well in the history of theological as of almost all other sciences. One of the most fortunate consequences that flowed to theology from the philosophy in question, was the improvement of mental science, especially in its connection with moral and religious truth. From ignorance in this respect, arose no small part of all previous errors in theology and religion. It was not long after the time of Bacon, when his influence was felt in the creation of a science of the mind, almost new, which was the means of detecting and refuting those errors. No sooner had the foundations of a correct mental philosophy been laid, than the triumph of theological truth was ascertained. Nothing, then, could impede its onward progress. If, to the influence of the Baconian philosophy be added, that of an improved style of sacred interpretation—the fruit, in part no doubt, of that same philosophy—we shall have the sum of those causes to which it might have been confidently looked for advancement in theological science, and which, in our view, did contribute efficaciously to that end.

The Reformation was a struggle for great principles. It was more a struggle for a pure theology, and for the principles of civil and religious liberty, than for a correct philosophy. All that the Reformers did towards the latter was the setting aside of Aristotle. They simply rejected the guidance of the scholastic system, but did nothing to prevent its re-introduction, ex-

cept so far as their example and the character of their doctrines might incidentally have had that tendency. Their great aim was to bring the world surrounding them back to the simplicity of the gospel, both in doctrine and discipline, in religious and civil matters. They had too much to contend for, that was of real and immense magnitude, to take much interest in subjects of minor importance. It is true, indeed, that they sometimes suffered themselves to be betrayed into trifling controversies. The sacramentarian controversy was of that character. But this, painful as it was in its results, and unimportant in its nature as it was to the great interests of the church at that day, yet took place in close connection with the grand struggle for truth and liberty. It was while bringing back the doctrine concerning the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to the simplicity of the gospel, that the dispute arose how that doctrine should be stated, where it should be left; and the work of rescuing the doctrine itself from the perversion of Popery, was surely one of sufficient importance to command the energies of the Reformers. If they fell out by the way, it was in a strife for the redemption of a part of the essential gospel. And if in the controversy in question, there was a subtlety of reasoning resorted to, which savored of the scholastic philosophy more than of the plainness of the scriptures, it is to be attributed, not to the acknowledged authority of that system, as a system, but solely to its remaining influence, silent, unperceived by themselves, though not beyond the observation of others. In general, nothing that did not reach the vital interests of civil and religious liberty, and pure christianity, attracted the attention and commanded the efforts of the Reformers. They stood upon the gospel, and that alone, aiming to exclude all speculation that was not necessary, in their view, to vindicate and establish its doctrines and its principles.

The Reformation may be best and most significantly described, as a *revival of the study of the bible*. Before that period, for the space of a thousand years, the iron hand of papal despotism had suppressed every thing like the general study and self-thinking interpretation of the sacred oracles. The pillar of hope to that despotism, the talisman of its strength and perpetuity, was wide and far-reigning ignorance—and mainly ignorance of the bible. The entire effort of Popery was virtually concentrated in this, to keep the truth of God away from the people, and give them in its stead, as the divine message, whatever they thought fit. Its power was enlisted, to its whole extent, for the purpose of keeping the bible, and the

right of individual interpretation of its contents, out of the hands of the multitude. Thus were the inhabitants of papal Europe, century after century, kept chained under the most degrading of all despotisms. Conscience was enslaved, intellect benighted and benumbed, and the general mind, in all its powers and faculties, became and remained dead, twice dead. That millennial night of darkness and death would have lasted to these our days, if any means could have availed to keep the bible safe within the walls of the Vatican and the cells of the priests. Without the general and independent study of the bible, whatever else might have been gained, it would not have been the Reformation; with it, no all-power nor all-presence of the beast and his false prophets could prevent it. The blow was struck, the deed was done, when Luther's indomitable spirit, stirred within him at the shameless traffic in indulgences, rose in its might and brought that infamous practice to trial at the bar of God's word. That was the movement which made sure the Reformation. It contained within itself the seeds of all other movements—all else of happy change—that was to be accomplished and enjoyed. Throughout Germany, and much of Europe, the foundations were already quaking underneath the existing papal institutions. It was only needed that some one should rise up and set the example of calling the mighty mother of abominations to a reckoning by the book of Jehovah's constitution and laws, and open that book to the general mind. In the providence of God, that office fell to Luther, and he fulfilled it. He might have continued to study Augustine and the fathers forever, and there would have been no Reformation by his instrumentality—not a particle. He would have lived and died, a good, regular Augustinian monk, in his cell at Würtemberg, and left the Reformation where it was, lingering and trembling, just on the point of bursting into life.

[We are unexpectedly compelled to break off in the midst of this article, and leave it thus incomplete. It is our intention, however, to resume the subject in one or more subsequent numbers.]

ART. X—OLSHAUSEN ON THE NEW TESTAMENT.

Proof of the Genuineness of the New Testament: for intelligent readers of all classes. Translated from the German of DR. H. OLSHAUSEN, Professor of Theology in the University of Erlangen, etc. With notes, by DAVID FOSDICK, Jr. Andover: 1838. pp. 216. 12mo.

THIS book, although designed for popular use, that is, for intelligent readers of all classes, in Germany, differs very considerably from treatises on the same subject current in our own country, and contains much information which is far from being familiar even to our theologians.

The subject is an interesting one to serious, inquiring minds. The author is well known to those conversant with German literature, as a commentator on the gospels. The translator is well qualified for his task, and deserves the gratitude of the community for this new product of his useful labors.

We propose to exhibit some of the views contained in this work, as giving the present state of the investigation concerning the genuineness of the New Testament.

The writings of the New Testament existed in the early centuries, not in a volume as we have them now, but in detached parcels, to which were given different names; as *the gospel*, embracing our four gospels; *the apostle*, embracing thirteen epistles of Paul, to which was afterwards added, after its Pauline origin was generally admitted, the epistle to the Hebrews; *the catholic epistles*, that is, epistles generally admitted, in contradistinction to various rejected writings. Besides these, there were the Acts of the Apostle and the Apocalypse of John.

A division of the New Testament writings by the early fathers into *homologoumena* or universally admitted writings, and *anti-legomena* or disputed writings, has served to instigate inquiry in modern times, and tended greatly to confirm the genuineness of the whole.

The gospel, (our four gospels,) the most important part of the New Testament, seems to have been received from the first without a dissentient voice. The coincidences and dissonances of the evangelists, which have been a subject of great interest to the German theologians, Dr. Olshausen ascribes partly to oral tradition and partly to other causes. The different exhibition of our Savior by John and by the other evangelists, he thinks, may be easily explained without detracting at all from their credibility.

The Pauline epistles, with the exception of the two to Timothy, the one to Titus, and the epistle to the Hebrews, are so intimately interwoven with the Acts of the Apostles, that no candid mind can entertain a doubt of the genuineness either of the historical narrative or of the epistolary correspondence.

The two epistles to Timothy and that to Titus, which critics comprehended under the title of *Pastoral Letters*, are not confirmed, like the other Pauline epistles, by comparing their historical allusions with the Acts of the Apostles. But they have ancient tradition wholly in favor of their genuineness; their historical allusions are too specific to have proceeded from an impostor; and the tradition of a *double* confinement of St. Paul at Rome supplies exactly the point in his life, at which we may suppose these epistles to have been written.

The difficulty as to the epistle to the Hebrews respects its Pauline origin, and not its canonical authority; questions which have no necessary connection. Dr. Olshausen maintains, that this epistle, although not penned by Paul, was perhaps written by Apollos, or some other under Paul's superintendence, and in any case has decisive historical evidence in its favor.

As to the catholic epistles, the first epistle of John and the first of Peter were universally received in christian antiquity; and the second and third of John have as much evidence in their favor as we should expect from compositions so brief and of so little general interest.

The second epistle of Peter, Dr. Olshausen considers destitute of decisive testimony either for or against its canonical authority. He believes that attempts to remove the doubts in regard to this epistle will probably always prove vain, from the want of historical accounts respecting the use and diffusion of it in primitive times.

Dr. Olshausen ascribes the epistle of James, not to James the apostle, son of Alphaeus, but to the brother of our Lord, mentioned Matt. 13: 55. Gal. 1: 19. Now as this James was in high esteem and a pillar of the church, the ascription of the epistle to him detracts nothing from its authority.

The epistle of Jude, Dr. O. supposes to have been written not by Jude the apostle, but by Jude, the brother of James, the author of the epistle. The canonical authority of the epistle he considers less certain.

In regard to the Apocalypse, Dr. O. is peculiar in maintaining the doctrine of Christ's kingdom on earth, which he thinks no one who receives the Apocalypse can reject, and in holding the opinion, that the Apocalypse was written long before the gospel

and epistles by the same author. He holds also, in unison with most other critics, that at the earliest period, both the friends and the opponents of the doctrine of the millenium received the Apocalypse as a work of John the apostle; and that it was not till the controversy on this subject raged high, that its apostolic origin was denied.

In a concluding chapter our author sums up the results at which he had arrived, and makes some important remarks as to the mode of reasoning in respect to the authenticity of the books of the Old Testament.

Our aim has been simply to exhibit a brief synopsis of the volume. We are not prepared to coincide with all the views which Dr. Olshausen has here advanced; nor do we propose at this time to enter upon a discussion of them. Readers of discrimination will easily see what is or what is not the truth on the subjects which are treated.

ART. XI.—BARNES ON THE SUPREMACY OF THE LAWS.

The American National Preacher, Vol. XII., No. 8, Aug. 1838.

THIS is a noble and timely vindication of the *supremacy* of the laws. We are rejoiced at its appearance in that truly valuable periodical, *The American National Preacher*, through which it will have an extensive circulation. It has been stereotyped for distribution, and we are sure no discourse better deserves it. Would that it might be read by every man who can read, and heard by every one who cannot, throughout our whole land. Scenes of violence and outrage have of late become fearfully frequent in every part of the nation, and unless vigorously checked they will inflict upon us the worst of all despotisms—the despotism of a lawless mob. The people should be taught to estimate aright the dangers they incur in abetting in any degree so vile a spirit as that which is thus exhibited. Intelligent patriotism ought at once to array its entire strength in a united and decided expression of abhorrence of whatever is lawlessly done, by whatever party or class of persons it may have been originated or is approved. No one can seriously reflect on the growth of popular violence within a few years past, without just feelings of alarm. A spirit of insubordination is gaining among us. It is manifested in almost every section of

our country, and nothing but the decided rebuke of law, sustained by a well regulated public sentiment, can effectually check its progress. The causes of this increasing spirit of misrule are numerous.

One may be found in the breaking up of permanent associations, the scattering of persons hither and thither over the whole country. A community who grow up on the soil, who are accustomed to see the same institutions from one generation to another, insensibly learn to reverence those institutions and customs, and shrink from doing any thing which may hinder the regular course of affairs. But as they scatter off, and are now here, now there, the charm is broken. They become more fickle and more liable to be swayed by impulse. The feeling of permanency and almost necessary continuance is gone. They have none of those attachments to the welfare of the community which were once felt, and its peace or prosperity is an object far less endeared to their hearts. Interests of persons, or classes of persons, seem to clash, and the need of mutual concession becomes greater. Thus is it with our country at present. The population of our cities, towns and villages, is more fluctuating—a class of people is found among us who having been restrained by sheer force, have come to this country feeling, that liberty means a full permission for every one to do what is right or desirable in his own eyes. Now this rupture of old associations, and this extension of the community is the necessary result of the world's progress. But for this reason a solemn determination to uphold the majesty of the law is the more needful, that the due balance may be preserved.

Again. Another cause is a relaxation of family discipline on the principles of parental authority. An unhappy notion of the self-government of children, has crept into the minds of many. The former practice, in some respects, may have been too stern and forceful, but the present one errs on the other extreme. Well-governed families will make well-governed communities and nations. Taught to respect the laws of home and the fire-side, they will expect to obey those of the city, state, or nation. That parent who suffers his child to be wayward at home, must expect that his boy, when become a man, will be lawless and rebellious to the state. The new methods of education, in which teachers, while they disclaim the exercises of the memory, aim mainly to cultivate the reflective powers, before the pupil can profitably be set to the task, in their zeal to make young sages, whose oracular sayings and opinions may be published, lose sight of the spirit of pert self-sufficiency and pride which they foster in the infant bosom.

What has been said of families is also true of school-government. Discipline is gradually ceasing to be exerted, and the opinion is gravely advanced, that a collection of children whose minds are not yet matured, whose passions and interests often clash, are adequate to decide how the school should be regulated. The young republican must have no curb of authority laid upon him—it will break down his spirit—no chastisement must touch him, but he must be reasoned with and convinced and won. Now we are sick of this foolish affectation of regard to the right reason of the child. The fact is, there is not one out of a hundred but who when he does wrong knows it, and the true way to bring him to such a sense of it as shall be of any avail, is to show him, without passion, yet decidedly, that you know and feel it too. Children are under law, the law of parental government, and this they should be made to acknowledge by wholesome discipline; they pass forth under the law of schools, colleges, and of those who instruct them in their several trades and occupations; they are in a community regulated by laws, citizens of a state and nation, which elects its legislators and executive officers for the purpose of sustaining law, and subjects of a God, all whose actions are guided by the unerring rules of justice and love.

Another cause of the feeling of insubordination is the violence of party strife. The progress of party feeling in this country has been marked by a growing disregard for the courtesies and civilities of life. Decorum and law have been outraged, and maxims of the most corrupting and even brutalizing character have been and are openly avowed and promulgated. It has been inculcated alike by one party and by another, that the main object should be to supplant its adversaries. For this purpose no means have been spared; private character has been attacked, and principles have been acted on the tendency of which is to destroy society and endanger the peace of any community. Bitterness of denunciation, ridicule, falsehood, have been chief weapons of attack on either side, and that press is most popular which can best call names and crush its opponents. This spirit, thus engendered and kept alive, has been diffused through the great mass. The manufacture of public opinion has become a regular employment. Articles written at some central point of influence, have been sent abroad to extreme parts of the country, and when there published in certain of the numerous newspapers, have been caught up at the place where they were first prepared, and paraded in the columns of some unscrupulous partisan paper as the expression of public opinion at

a distance. The whole process is well known, and perhaps at heart despised, but favoring as it does the interests of *the party*, it is passed over. Thus "conscience swings from its moorings," moral principle is destroyed, and all those feelings of party violence, which have become so habitual, are ready for their full play whenever any object shall be presented to call them forth. Scenes of strife and abuse, even in the hall of legislation, and private wrongs, real or fancied, avenged on the spot—when these are common, it is no difficult matter to excite a mob and let it spend its energies upon some hated object. In certain instances it may be deemed a good occasion to manifest the feeling of contempt for the magistrate elected by the other party, or by such an occurrence disgrace may be brought upon him which shall as well subserve party purposes.

But the grand cause, is the disregard which has been suffered to go on towards the laws and institutions of God. In a community where the Sabbath of God's appointment is disregarded, where the claims of religion are unacknowledged, there will be mobs and lawless outrages on property and life. In breaking down the power of moral feeling with regard to God's claims, in violating the obligation we are under to him, and throwing off as a nation the restraints which he imposes, we are preparing for ourselves a scourge by which we shall be taught, sooner or later, the misery of our infatuation. Scorpion like, we shall find its sting of self-destruction when surrounded by the fires of divine visitation. The unbridled passions, which have gathered strength by indulgence, will become mighty for evil, and their force will be spent in invasions of our own rights and welfare. Who does not know the history of the French revolution? Who does not know, that spirits as reckless and as daring, as infidel, as determined too in their hatred of law and religion, are abroad in our land. Should, then, any thing like sympathy be manifested towards lawless violence? Is it a time when the least palliation should be offered to justify outrages on the rights of any one. Yet who does not know, that only a timid rebuke, a ready excuse, or a virtual approbation, has found place in the columns of some of our most popular newspapers. Sometimes, too, we fear, that the press has not been wanting in direct instigations to such wicked occurrences. We have enough of combustible materials gathered in our cities, and liable to be enkindled, to cause a dreadful conflagration, without any one casting forth sparks to set it in flames. It is easier to prevent its kindling than to quench the fires when once begun. The responsibility of the

popular press is great indeed. The hand that is reached forth to unbar the floodgates, within which are pent the waters whose torrents let loose sweep over a fair land, is chargeable with the ruin which has been wrought, whether foreseen or not; and the man who promulgates opinions, the tendency of which is to stir up the evil passions of men to break out against each other, will have to account for the wretchedness he has caused, though like the madman dealing out firebrands, arrows and death, he may all the while say, "Am I not in sport?" We believe, that to the pernicious principles of Thomas Jefferson in boldly advancing the sentiment, that we have nothing to do with christianity as a nation, together with other kindred opinions for which his influence has gained a reception, we owe not a few of the evils of corrupted popular feeling which now characterizes our nation. The period will come sooner or later when nations will understand the great truth, that if christianity can do without their direct aid, yet they cannot prosper without christianity. The wisdom of statesmen will be folly, the laws a nullity, and justice a mere name, so soon as the force of moral obligation ceases to be felt; and this will be the case if the grand cardinal duty of obedience to God be wholly disregarded. Political profligacy will be the order of the day, the basest men will be exalted, and the fruits of anarchy and misrule be tasted in all their bitterness. He, then, deserves well of the nation, who makes his voice heard in timely warning and counsel, and who seeks to waken in every breast a strong feeling of determination to uphold at every hazard **THE SUPREMACY OF THE LAWS.**

This Mr. Barnes has done, and we most earnestly commend his forcible appeal to our readers. While it abounds with passages of superior eloquence, its chief merit is its manly and elevated views of duty, and its cogent demonstration of the authority of law, and the danger of disregarding its claims. It was evidently prepared with reference to the late atrocious outrage on the freedom of discussion,—the burning of Pennsylvania Hall, by a mob under the very eyes of numerous citizens in Philadelphia, a city once so famed for its quiet obedience to law. We rejoice, that from one pulpit there, and we presume more than one, the true ground in favor of free discussion has been taken, and that so able a defense of right, and rebuke of wrong has been fearlessly set forth.

Mr. Barnes in the outset, lays down several important principles. On these we shall not dwell, as our thoughts have in the main, been expressed in another article in the present number

of this work. The first of these is, "That government is instituted by God,"—and as such it is not to be regarded "as merely of human arrangement." The old doctrine of the *social compact*, which has been productive of so much evil, and which is so entirely unsupported by sound argumentation, is thus very properly exploded, and the authority of civil society, traced up to its proper source—God's will as the expressive announcement of what is right or most productive of general happiness. Every thing in the circumstances of our birth, and the need of protection and instruction in our early days—the very first elements of our social life, indicate most clearly, that we are designed to be amenable to the claims of law and under authority. As a consequence of this, "Submission to government and to law, is a duty to God." Our highest interest is God's aim in planning for us here—and bearing this in mind, the command of God is to be considered paramount to every other, in the mind of that man, who properly regards his situation as a free moral agent, accountable at the divine tribunal. Hence, "Resistance to the laws, except in matters of conscience, is resistance against God, and is a sin against him." God's claim is ever the highest; if we are required to blaspheme him or to do injustice, we have a right to resist such a command: no one can impose upon us an obligation to break the laws of God. Such an act in a government would be suicidal, for the Supreme Ruler must be obeyed, or there is a renunciation of all authority. The acts of a government may be such as so clearly to contravene all its original designs, that the destruction of this government for the purpose of establishing another, may be clearly a duty. But this is the case of a *revolution*, and even in such a case, Law in its general principles must not be violated. The recognition of the divine claim must be kept steadily in view. We must be morally certain, that the evils of the change will be greatly counterbalanced by the good results that shall flow from it. No rash and unreasonable measures must be resorted to. Even if the end be a legitimate one, it must be sought by the wisest means in our power. An obligation to refuse to perform the commanded act, has become more binding than the pretended claim for obedience, and supersedes that authority. As we were once under obligation as a duty to God, to obey the human government, we are in performance of the same obligation of duty now, to cease obedience to the human government. This is the christian doctrine carried out, "Whether therefore, ye eat or drink, or whatever ye do, do all to the glory of God."

Mr. Barnes then goes on to state, that the great design of government is "to protect the innocent in the exercise of their rights," and "to punish the violaters of the laws." These ends are to be obtained by the legitimate exercise of their powers. The administration of equal justice is all-important. The magistrate and not mere individuals, courts of law and equity and not mobs or mere popular assemblies, are to determine the propriety and to administer the sentence of punishment. Commissioned authority is the organ by which the welfare of the community is to make itself known. The text on which the discourse is based, is from Rom. 13: 1—7: "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers," &c., and written as our author supposes it to have been during the reign of Claudius or Nero, the difficulty of the subject is obvious. Did Paul mean to inculcate subjection to the authority of such rulers as "the dark unrelenting Tiberius, the furious Caligula, the feeble Claudius, the profligate and cruel Nero, the beastly Vitellius, and the timid, inhuman Domitian?" So it seemed, except where the duty of submission clashed with the paramount claims of heaven. The wrath of the emperor must not influence them to disobey God, to become idolaters, blasphemers, or vile, but till such an emergency arose as rendered rebellion an unavoidable duty, they must submit, leading "quiet and peaceable lives in all godliness and honesty." It was a wicked government, but the christians were not accountable for its acts; they could not effect any change, and they might not for the sake of their own individual comfort break in upon the operation of an ordinance of God. The situation, however, in which we are placed is a widely different one. The laws are what they should be; or if this is not the case, they can easily be so made. The proper reason for disregarding the laws, therefore, cannot exist. This leads our author to speak of the necessity of discussing the subject on account of the frequent outrages which have occurred in various parts of the country, and which evince a growing sentiment, that there are evils in the community which can only be met by the people taking the law into their own hands.

After dwelling a short time on the indication of this spirit even among respectable persons, Mr. Barnes proceeds to show the *necessity* and *importance* of the supremacy of the laws. Here he considers the three kinds of government among men, *despotism*, the will of a *mob*, and that of *law*. His remarks on all these points are very forcible, but we are mainly concerned at present with the last of the three. It matters not, as to the principle, how the laws are made. It is a government

of *law*. The importance and advantages of such a government are clearly stated in several particulars. First: "This alone can give security and prosperity to a people." All our rights of property, our personal protection depends upon this. It may often take a long course of years to accomplish any enterprise, and permanent protection is requisite. Education, religion, domestic enjoyments, must not be liable at any moment to be broken up and all their purposes scattered to the winds. Commerce, manufactures, improvements of every description, are in security no longer, nor will there be a disposition to engage in them, than while law continues to exert its influence. God's government, too, is a government of law, both in the natural and moral kingdom. "So important is the supremacy of the laws, that God requires us to submit to them even when better could be made, unless they violate the dictates of conscience." We shall not dwell upon this topic, as it has been already discussed in a previous article of the present number. Suffice it to say, that Mr. Barnes argues with his usual ability and moral power.

We proceed to the main point in view,—to oppose the doctrine of the right of an excited populace to take the execution of vengeance into their own hands. Sometimes this is done under the forms of law,—a mock trial, with professions of a great desire to have justice done. But as our author most urgently shows, the plea is utterly groundless. If there are evils in a community which the laws cannot reach, laws must be made to reach them, or they must be let go unpunished. It will never answer to do a worse evil, by breaking down the authority of law; nor, were it allowable, would the object be effected. That cause which requires outrages on law, and the justice which is due to every man, can never stand. The rough storms of persecution will only invigorate the cause it seeks to destroy. Public feeling will turn in favor of the outraged; for who can tell how soon the same spirit may be assailing his own rights, for some alledged misdemeanor? All mobs are not actuated by the same particular partialities or prejudices. The history of mobs in this country shows, that it is not against one specific evil, real or fancied, the tide of popular fury is turned. The Baltimore mob, the mob at Charlestown, at Vicksburgh, at St. Louis, at New York, at Alton, at Philadelphia, and we might enumerate many more, show, that a party press, a convent, a gambling establishment, a slave, a flour-store, an anti-slavery editor, a hall of free discussion, may alike be made the object of attack. Nor would it be difficult

to find instances of churches, banks, colleges, and agricultural and manufacturing improvements, which have called forth the same exhibitions of popular violence. Mr. Barnes quotes with great force from a melancholy example of the same spirit in ancient times :

‘ The world saw long since, a melancholy illustration of the tendency of the sentiment, that there are evils which cannot be restrained by law, and that summary justice must be taken into the hands of the people. There was one arraigned on a charge of blasphemy. The forms of law had been gone through with. With all power in hand, he had yet thrown himself on the protection of the laws of the land. “I find no fault at all in this man,” was the deliberate sentence of the judge. The law was clearly in his favor, and the public officer declared his acquittal. But that law and its solemn decision were disregarded. “Crucify him, crucify him,” was the cry of the excited and infuriated mob. He had offended the nation. He had advanced sentiments which they disapproved ; and though the law was clearly in his favor, and the sentence of acquittal unambiguous, yet the passions of a capricious and tumultuous people were excited, and nothing would appease them but his blood. God’s everlasting and holy Son, acquitted by law, under the permission and by the connivance of a magistrate too weak and flexible to maintain the stern interests of justice, expired under the guidance of an infuriated mob, on a cross!’ p. 121.

The next point to which our author directs his attention, is the inquiry, “In what way may the supremacy of the laws be secured and maintained?” Here, among the things indispensable he places *first* of all, “The influence and prevalence of the christian religion.” The aim of true christianity is to yield to all their rights. Such a disposition is not that which actuates mobs. The people of God, when under the operation of devoted obedience to him, are not the individuals out of which mobs will be formed. Such may be the objects of their aim, as were the martyrs, but these are not the persons to outrage the rights of their fellow-men, and to destroy the order and peace of the community. It is to them rather, that we are to look for the support of the laws and the maintenance of “whatsoever things are just, lovely, and of good report.” Hence the vast importance of the extension of the influence and power of christian principle.

Mr. Barnes mentions a *second* thing indispensable to the supremacy of the laws : The success of the temperance reformation. It is in the dram-shop where the mob finds its natural aliment. From thence issue forth the lawless, ready to destroy the property and lives of their fellow-citizens. It is a well as-

certained fact, that nine-tenths of all the crimes in the land are committed either directly or indirectly through the influence of intoxicating drink. The same cause which will prepare men for private aggression, will render them fit for public outrages. Men whose conduct is such as to call forth no moral courage, must depend upon some artificial stimulant in order to nerve themselves to their daring assaults on other's rights: let them be deprived of this they have no sufficient defense against the urgency of conscience; and so long as the grog-shop is suffered to go on with its work of death, so long as dram-drinking is legalized in any community, so long will there be a population ever at hand to join setting law and civil authority at defiance.

Mr. Barnes also censures severely the "tameness of the sentiments in the community" in regard to mobs. From this cause he traces the increase of these outrages. Respectable citizens have been content faintly to condemn, if not indeed even to approve of their occurrence. The ground has been extensively assumed and acted on, "that there *are* offenses which deserve the interposition of a mob, and a strain of remark has been indulged in, just fitted to urge on a lawless multitude to scenes of disorder and blood." To what other cause is it to be traced, that while the Pennsylvania Hall was in flames, and the engines were playing upon the adjoining buildings, the firemen either would not make or were not suffered to make the least attempt to save it from the devouring element. Why did an immense crowd of citizens stand by as idle spectators, nor make one bold effort to uphold the majesty of the laws? Was it a greater evil to have their feelings of displeasure excited by incongruous associations, than to have the law placed beneath the feet of an incendiary mob? Had it been the United States Bank, or a theater, would no arm have been raised for its rescue? These are questions which deserve an answer, and the only answer which can be given is one which declares, that it was the nature of the building which called out their wrath, and which withheld the requisite aid to extinguish the flames. But this is to assume, that mobs are justifiable for some causes, and then who shall decide what are the legitimate objects of attack? Mr. Barnes' language on this subject expresses the true feeling: "Now what is needful—what **MUST BE**—in this land, every where, is, that there should be the language of unqualified condemnation of such infractions of the laws. From the pulpit, the press, and from every place of influence, there must be heard but one voice. There must be no apology; no time-serving; no equivocal tone. All must be decided, consistent, firm—or our liberty is gone."

For the same reason, our author says, "There must be a magistracy that is unshrinking in the execution of the laws." Here he points out the evil of inactivity on the part of the law of following up the offenders, as well as the absolute necessity of a magistracy "WHO WILL LAY DOWN THEIR LIVES rather than see the property and rights of their fellow-citizens destroyed by a lawless mob." If such protection be denied, where shall a citizen look for it or for redress when wronged? This naturally leads to the last position, "The right of free discussion must be conceded." This, says Mr. Barnes, "is THE right on which all our institutions depend," and we know not that we can do better than, in conclusion, to place his eloquent appeal, in part at least, upon our pages.

'It is THE right on which all our institutions depend. The extraordinary doctrine which has been recently advanced, that there are *some* points which must never be subjected to free discussion; the little sensibility which has been felt in regard to the claim; and the measures which have been adopted to defend it, and the sympathy which those measures have met, has done more to alarm the true friends of liberty in this land than all that has ever happened from the efforts of foreigners, or all the dangers that have ever threatened us from abroad. We need not fear foreign armies. We have measured strength with them and our swords have met theirs in deadly strife; and we have settled the point that our liberties are safe from any foreign invasion. We need not dread their fleets for we can build a navy like theirs, and can, if necessary, meet the mistress of the ocean on the "mountain wave." But how shall we meet this subtle enemy? How if one half of the nation shall refuse to their brethren the right of the fullest inquiry into all that pertains to the national morals, liberty, character, welfare? The pulse of freedom beats languid when this right is denied; it sends vigorous tides of life and health only when it is conceded that every thing may be investigated freely. No matter to what subject the point relates. The moment the principle is conceded that there is one point that may not be examined, that moment our liberty ceases.

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This right of free discussion is not to be denied. It is to be conceded that all things pertaining to the public welfare may be examined. There is to be no disturbance; no interruption; no intimidation; there must be no stripes; no burning; no murdering for the most free and full exercise of this right. Argument is to be met by argument and not by the fire-brand; principles are to be settled most freely by discussion, and not by a rifle or a dirk; thought is to be met with thought, and not by the cries of an infuriated and intoxicated multitude. What argument cannot put down must stand; and what can be met by no other weapons than the fire-brand or the rifle must endure as long as the everlasting hills.' pp. 127, 128.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

Memoir of Mrs. Sarah Louisa Taylor, &c. New York:
John S. Taylor.

THE charm of this work is the spirit of humble, unaffected and fervent piety which it breathes. Mrs. Taylor was a woman of good sense, and led a life of devoted attachment to her Savior. In her early youth she was led to the choice of Him as her portion, and in all the duties she was called to discharge, she steadfastly remembered her trust in his promises. She was an object of the faithful assiduities of the late Harlan Page, and seems to have imbibed something of the same holy love for communion with God which ever actuated him. Her biographer has aimed at no embellishment, but in a simple, natural manner, has set forth the excellencies of her character, interspersed with extracts from her writings, and thus furnished a volume adapted to do good. Her life was short, but she lived to some purpose. As a daughter, sister, wife and mother, she appears to have felt the high claims of heaven, and her great aim was to meet the approbation of her heart-searching Judge. Her writings show, that she was accustomed to read and think for herself, and while they make no pretension to brilliancy of imagination, or splendor of diction, are characterized by an easy style and a graceful turn of thought, as well as a warm and affectionate heart. The volume is very handsomely printed, and embellished by a beautiful vignette title-page, besides a portrait, and we learn has been very acceptable to the christian public. As such we commend it to our readers, and trust, that her example of piety and humility may find many imitators.

Hawaiian Spectator, Vol. I. No. I.

WE have been much gratified in looking over this first number of a religious Quarterly, published in the Sandwich Islands. It is an interesting proof of the advancement of truth even in the remote parts of the earth. The articles are generally well prepared, and afford promise of yet better things. We are pleased also to observe, that for an outer dress its conductors have adopted our own, and we trust that they will find it an agreeable one. We shall have an eye to them now and then, so that they must scan their proofs carefully lest we catch them tripping. As this work must mainly depend for its support on persons abroad, we hope that a christian public will not be slow in their patronage. We can assure our readers, that the perusal would afford them much interest, and those who can will do well to aid its circulation.

Letters of Isabella Graham. New York : John S. Taylor.

WE recollect when the Memoirs of Mrs. Isabella Graham was one among the very few biographies of pious females which could be found on the shelves of the bookseller. With her name was associated the idea of a woman of no common excellence, whose works of charity were to be found in many a memorial of distress relieved and good imparted. The cause of the widow and orphan she espoused, and the children of sorrow ever had a claim on her heart. It was therefore with no ordinary interest we took up the present volume. It is a mirror in which is reflected the same image of high moral worth which was presented in her memoirs. Some of the events of her life were exceedingly touching, and the delineation of her feelings under her trials here given us, is a beautiful exemplification of a submissive yet anguished heart, beneath the strokes of a father's chastening rod. These letters, though evidently never intended for the public eye, let us into the secrets of her inmost soul, and no one can read them without the conviction, that they are the productions of a gifted woman ; such is the tenderness and purity by which they are marked.

Maternal Love. By a Mother. New York. 1838.

THE principle advocated in this little volume is, that children should in their earlier years be kept much at home, and during the first six or seven years at least, educated almost exclusively under the eye of the mother. *Maternal love* is the spring on which we are to rely for the proper performance of such duty. Infant schools, Sabbath schools and common schools, seem to find little favor in the estimation of the authoress. With regard to a class of persons, her arguments may have weight. But we are by no means convinced, that she has made out her case as to the majority of children. Infant schools, we suppose, are mainly designed for the children of those parents who cannot afford to be always at home. To such, to the poor, it must be a relief to supply, as far as may be, a home to their children during the hours of labor, where their little ones may be kept from harm and be taught good things. As to the effort to urge on the infant mind, whether at home or in the infant school, we consider it injurious both to the health and morals of the child. Sabbath schools have proved a great blessing. Many a child has been brought thus to the sanctuary, who but for them would have never known, that there was a Sabbath, the day of God. The necessity of attendance by others, except the poor, does not so much arise from the inability to be instructed at home as for the sake of example and countenance to those who, in the pride of their hearts, might not be willing to appear there alone. Notwithstanding the evils

which may attend them, there is an advantage, too, in having children brought into contact with each other, and learning to sympathize with each others' wants. Were they destined to live secluded, it might be different, but they are to become members of society. The danger of indulgence and interruption while always at home is great, to say nothing of the increased expense and trouble. Though we cannot admit her theory, yet there are many valuable suggestions in this "mother's" volume. The writer, we understand, is a highly respected lady of this city. Her thoughts are expressed in a clear style, and evince a commendable desire to befriend parents and the guides of the infant mind and heart.

Treatise on French Poetry, &c. By FRANÇOIS TURNER. New Haven: A. H. Maltby. 1838.

THIS work will prove a valuable auxiliary to those who wish to become acquainted with the nature and rules of French Poetry. Its author is a respected teacher of the French language in the University of Yale, and from his previous publications is known to considerable extent abroad. We must plead ignorance of French Poetry, as we never liked it well enough to devote to it much attention. Under such a guide, however, we do not despair of yet attaining the requisite taste and power to appreciate its best specimens; and we doubt not that the acquisition will reward the labor by ourselves or by others.

Professor Kingsley's Historical Discourse. New Haven: B. & W. Noyes.

SINCE our last number, we have received a copy of Prof. Kingsley's Historical Discourse, commemorative of the settlement of New Haven in 1638, and intended to have given a full notice of the same. This we must now reserve to the closing number of our present volume. It is enough to say at this time, that it is what it professes to be, a *historical* address—and is characterized by the author's usual accuracy, and his felicity of diction. In it will be found an ample refutation of the calumnies on New Haven and Connecticut colonies, which have been repeated from the notorious Samuel Peters, down to the present time as to the customs, *blue laws* and oppressive spirit of the forefathers of these colonies. Our author gives a fair estimate of the character of the first settlers, and shows, that it was a desire of religious liberty, which led them to tempt the ocean, and plant themselves in the wilderness. The institutions which they reared, and the privileges they have handed down to their posterity, mark them out as no ordinary men.

*Twenty-second Annual Report of the American Bible Society,
1838.*

WE notice this Report now not for the purpose of detailing the Society's operations, nor even of giving an abstract of its successful prosecution of its high aims, but for the single object of referring to an interesting fact in relation to biblical literature. We mean the "Collation of the English Bible." We quote the statement of the managers on this subject :

'Many friends of the society are aware, probably, that suspicions were awakened, a few years since in England, in regard to the integrity of the present English bible. Charges of numerous and wide departures from the first edition of the translators had been freely circulated. Many letters and some pamphlets were published to substantiate those charges.

In these circumstances the authorized printers of the bible at the Oxford University, published a fac-simile of the first edition of King James, issued in 1611, in order that it might be compared with modern editions. This fac-simile copy is prepared with great minuteness, not only as respects the text, but the orthography, punctuation, and even embellishments. Having procured one of these copies, your board felt it their duty to institute a rigid comparison between it and the standard copy of this society. To secure perfect fairness as well as thoroughness in such an undertaking, a supervising committee was appointed by the board, consisting of one member from each religious denomination connected with the society. A skillful proof-reader was first directed to compare the early and the modern copy, word for word, and to note down all the discrepancies. Prof. Bush, the Editor of the Society's publications, having in the library a great variety of Bibles issued during the last three centuries, was then requested to go through the same, and learn where and when the changes found commenced. The Committee then, each with a copy of some age in hand, carefully followed the Editor and examined his investigations. The whole subject was then laid before the entire board for their adjudication. The task has been arduous, though one of great interest. While it has been found that numerous variations exist between the early and the present copies of the English Bible, it is also found that they pertain only to unimportant particulars; such as capital letters, commas, italic words, &c. not affecting the sense. It has been a matter of unfeigned satisfaction to the Board to find, on such careful investigation, that the books which they have sent forth from the Depository have been so conformed in meaning to the first editions issued under the eye of the translators. Little motive has been presented to make any changes. Those which have been made were of trivial importance, and usually for the purpose of return and conformation to the early copies.' pp. 29, 30.